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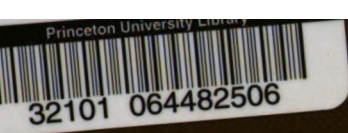
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REVIEW OF  
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS  
RELATING TO CANADA

EDITED BY  
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PUBLICATIONS OF THE YEAR 1904

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REVIEW OF  
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS  
RELATING TO CANADA  
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VOL. IX

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# REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

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## I. CANADA'S RELATIONS TO THE EMPIRE

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*Success among Nations.* By Emil Reich. Toronto: George N. Morang & Co., Limited, 1904. Pp. xiv, 270.

*Principles and Problems of Imperial Defence.* By Lieut.-Col. Edward S. May. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Limited; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1903. Pp. xx, 332.

*The Naval Policy of Canada.* By (1) A Canadian Imperialist; (2) Lieut. L. H. Hordern; (3) the Editor. (United Service Magazine, December, 1903, pp. 244-246, January, 1904, pp. 341-342.)

*Federation and the Mercantile Marine.* By E. Powys Cobb. (Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, vol. xxxv, pp. 227-246.)

*The Navy and the Nation.* By Sir George Sydenham Clarke. (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, January, 1904, pp. 30-44.)

*An Imperial Maritime Council.* By Sir George Sydenham Clarke. (Nineteenth Century and After, May, 1904, pp. 705-711.)

*Distribution and Mobilization of the Fleet.* (Admiralty Memorandum, Cd. 2335, December 6, 1904.) London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, [1904]. Pp. 5.

*The Navy and the Empire.* By H. F. Wyatt. (Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, vol. xxxvi, Dec. 6, 1904; 29 pp.)

"No Navy no Empire" might well be taken as the motto of all the best-informed writers who have been so earnestly calling attention to the vital question of Imperial Defence during the

past twelve months. Dr. Reich is a convinced, and convincing, believer in the Darwinian theory of world politics—and no one who really understands the inevitable nature of the struggle for international existence will gainsay him for a moment. He gives a comprehensive bird's-eye view of the ruling races of to-day, with acute and stimulating comments on the evolutionary reasons why. But he takes his stand on rather uncertain ground when he says that the King, at the head of a party anxious for European alliances, is fighting for the mastery against "a rigid anti-foreign" party of imperialists. Would it not be more correct to say that the King is harmonizing both policies, by keeping an even balance between a cool head abroad and a warm heart at home? Dr. Reich is a safer guide when pointing out the really great and beneficial influence of the Crown. For a good deal of the old "Power behind the Throne" is now within it—and behind the Cabinet. And the Empire may well be content to find so much true foresight and continuity of purpose at the ready service of its foreign policy. When dealing with the influence of sea-power on the growth of the British dominions, Dr. Reich would seem to be a disciple of Captain Mahan. Yet when he comes to estimate the value of sea-power at the present day he throws fact and theory to the winds, and conjures up as wild an hypothesis as ever daunted the imagination of a shivering landlubber. "The uncertainty of naval power is well known" to "really deep" students. The safety of the Empire "depends upon the thin thread of sea-power, of whose strength no man may judge;" and "the result of a struggle upon sea is even more dubious at the present day." Now, as a matter of well proved fact, English history shows conclusively that sea-power has always been true to the nation whenever the nation has been true to it, and that every fluctuation can be fully accounted for by such very credible reasons as a false foreign policy, lack of organization, bad material, and insufficient training. It is as certain to-day as at any other time that every atom of the national resources scientifically applied to sea-power—every efficient

man, gun, ship or torpedo added to an Imperial Navy and its Reserves—may be absolutely depended on to produce its due effect in war. Power is no more unstable on the sea than on the land. And while good navies now have a better assurance of victory than ever before, bad ones are more than ever certain of being utterly destroyed.

Colonel May's *Imperial Defence* is at once a stimulus and a disappointment. Its broad-minded treatment of the single United Service, and of the trade relations of the Empire, is a wholesome reminder that all army officers are not so narrow as some civilians would have us believe. It shows how often strategic and commercial lines coincide : a very important point, in view of the fact that while the British Isles are the home base of the fleet and army they are themselves dependent on a world base for their own supplies. The author pays due attention to the importance of sea-power. The chapter on cables is excellent, though the great name of Sir Sandford Fleming should not have been omitted. The book disposes once more of that old bogey of the general reader—"the strategic key of the situation"; and shows how worthless such keys are, unless the force holding them is a standing menace in itself. It corrects another popular mistake by proving how little Britain could effect against a great power, by taking mere outposts, like German East Africa or the Island of Saghalien. And, generally, it is well worth reading, if only as a 'classified index to many points of vital interest in such a complicated subject. But it is a disappointing book for all that; and this is all the more regrettable because Colonel May is really an excellent military writer, and one, moreover, who occupies an official position of far-reaching influence. Probably, it is this very position which seals his lips whenever he approaches a real discussion of the connections between resources, policy, and Imperial Defence. At any rate, he never reveals underlying motives, nor touches the primary springs of action; while his substitution of Admiral Colomb for Sir John Colomb as an original authority, and his total omission of Mr. Spencer



Wilkinson, are two errors of judgment which rather shake one's faith in the depth of his special knowledge. He is undoubtedly well informed on such questions as naval gunnery and the defence of India. But he says nothing apposite as to the two- or three-power standard for the fleet. And he ascribes the success of the fast German liners to direct subsidies rather than to advertisement and a ready-made personnel. If he would study the whole question as an official expert, and afterwards explain it without reserve to the general reader, the result might be a masterpiece.

In the symposium in the *United Service Magazine*, "A Canadian Imperialist" and Mr. Hordern both agree that a truly Imperial navy would best serve the interests of all concerned; and the Canadian is convincingly emphatic in his condemnation of an independent colonial fleet for coastguard service only. The editor of the *United Service Magazine*, in his contribution to the discussion, prefers colonial armies for local defence, with definitely pre-arranged colonial contingents for Imperial wars; and he would leave the navy as it is. He does not reckon with colonial objections to pledging military contingents in advance, nor with the fact that the navy is the natural unifying force of an oceanic empire.

Mr. Powys Cobb goes straight to the root of the matter when he says that the British merchant marine is withering away for want of apprentices. A raw boy eats as much as a man, a man's food costs half his wage, three raw boys cannot do the work of one A.B., therefore boys do not pay. The duties a boy can do more cheaply than a man are now mostly done by the premium-paying apprentices who recruit the quarter-deck but not the fore-castle. Keen competition and Board of Trade regulations now forbid the further burden of the old Navigation Laws, which compelled a ship to carry apprentices in proportion to her tonnage. But, so long as foreign boys are turned into full-grown seamen by foreign governments, while British boys have no equal opportunities, so long will the ready-made foreign man continue to supplant

his British rival, even at equal wages, simply because there can be no British men without British boys. Mr. Cobb has a purely business plan by which a boy will serve three years as an apprentice in a sea-going and money-making training ship, with three months sea-time aboard a man-of-war, so that he may be rated A.B. in the mercantile marine and Q.S. in the Royal Naval Reserve before he is twenty. But the plan seems hardly workable. Too many poor parents would object to the absence of wages during the first year, while any substantial payments would prevent a commercial success. The whole problem of an Imperial mercantile marine depends upon what the Empire thinks of its own dependence on sea-power, and of the dependence of sea-power itself on a British personnel. It is well to remember that the base in England is itself dependent on many other bases oversea, and that to let the British mercantile marine become predominantly foreign-manned, would be rather like handing over the commissariat and transport of the army to the care of foreign mercenaries.

Sir George Clarke's address on *The Navy and the Nation* is an excellent little vademecum for the intelligent civilian. Though delivered in Australia, it is well worth the close attention of Canadians—for there is only a single theatre for every naval war, and every seaboard in the world lies well within it. The object of *An Imperial Maritime Council* would be to strengthen the communications of the Empire by improving all steamship lines that are British-owned and British-manned, and that ply within the British Empire. Sir George Clarke would raise \$23,000,000 by a 1 per cent. surtax on foreign goods discharged in British ports, and would entrust the expenditure to a council of fifteen, four from the United Kingdom, two each from Canada, Australia, India, etc. As England would naturally share in any benefit conferred in any direction her predominance in representation would not be necessary, and so the first great stumbling-block of all federative schemes would be out of the way. Perhaps the best plan of all would be to amalgamate the two schemes of Sir George Clarke and

Mr. Powys Cobb, and work them by the proceeds of Mr. Hofmeyr's surtax of 2 per cent. The forty or fifty million dollars collected would be enough for this purpose, without being enough to disturb trade or create a fiscal problem of its own; while the establishment of a truly representative Imperial Council, with common funds devoted to mutual and self-adjusting benefits, would go far towards preparing the way for still greater things to come.

Sir John Fisher's new scheme for the *Distribution and Mobilization of the Fleet* is the best and most momentous change of its kind which has been effected for a hundred years. The old scheme was mainly the work of Lord St. Vincent—interesting to Canadians as a friend of Wolfe at Quebec,—and there can be no greater tribute to his essential wisdom than the mere fact that it has remained in force down to the centennial year of Trafalgar. But steam and telegraphy, the rise of the German Navy, the growth of Greater Britain, the dynamic changes in world-politics, and many minor causes, have made it obsolescent for nearly a generation past. Remotely localized little squadrons, like those on the Pacific, South American and Australian stations, are no longer useful, and are to be abolished. The future guiding principles are concentration of battle fleets, world-wide connection by cruiser squadrons, and ready reserves. There are three great battle-fleets, based on England, Gibraltar, and Malta, each with its own cruiser squadron. The rest of the sea is under the care of the Eastern, or Pacific, and Western, or North American, "Groups," which are kept in touch with each other by a cruiser squadron based on the Cape of Good Hope. And Canadians will be glad to learn that the new Western "Group" will greatly surpass the old North American Squadron in all-round efficiency. Its less effective vessels will be put out of commission, and better ones sent in their place; its own special reinforcement from the general Fleet Reserve in England will be immediately available in case of war; and all future naval cadets and enlisted boys will get their sea-training aboard the up-to-date

fighting ships of the new Particular Service Squadron, which will use the waters from Canada to the West Indies as its special drill-ground. Behind these great divisions, that really form but one mighty line of battle on the one high sea, stands the general Fleet Reserve, homogeneously grouped together in three Home ports, and carefully told off in advance as reinforcements for the six divisions already at sea, though quite ready to concentrate on any one particular point of danger. And so whenever Canadians look outward to those long, open sea-ways, where half their wealth and credit is continually afloat among the great mail-fisted nations of the world, they still may have the satisfaction of knowing that they remain secure under the guardian care of that "British" Navy to whose support they have, as yet, given no single item from all their national resources—not a ship, not a dollar, not a man.

Mr. H. F. Wyatt, the Navy League envoy, recapitulates the colonial objections to an Imperial Navy in his paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute, and addresses himself to the task of refuting them. He gives an excellent statement of the arguments for and against, and disposes of nearly all the bugbears of a united navy.

WILLIAM WOOD.

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*Imperial Preferential Trade from a Canadian Point of View.*

By Adam Shortt. Toronto : Morang & Co., 1904. Pp. 62.

*Canada and the Empire : an Examination of Trade Preferences.* By Edwin S. Montagu and Bron Herbert. London : P. S. King and Son, 1904. Pp. xviii, 198.

*Protection in Canada and Australia.* By C. H. Chomley. London : P. S. King and Son, 1904. Pp. xiv, 196.

Professor Shortt has put forth a pamphlet of some sixty pages directed against Mr. Chamberlain's project of fiscal reform. The central idea of the essay is historical, and is intended to show that the proposal of a system of imperial preferences is equivalent to a demand for the restoration of the

old fallacious colonial policy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. "Mr. Chamberlain," writes Professor Shortt, "has before his mind a scheme for the future of the Empire which is tantamount to a restoration of the old colonial system, on its commercial and industrial side at least, with its machinery of mutual preferences, and the idea of a self-contained Empire with restrictions on foreign trade." In order to test the probable success of the scheme proposed, he gives an account of the former "mercantile" system of colonial management. Mr. Shortt illustrates the operation of the old colonial system, and the point of view of those who advocated it by quoting from Sir Joshua Child's "New Discoveries of Trade," (published in 1860), and by a discussion of the commercial situation of the colonies and Great Britain at the time of the American Revolution. The development of colonial policy subsequent to that event is next traced, with an account of the preferential duties granted to colonial timber and wheat. The preferential duty on wheat, the writer shows, had but little effect in favouring Canadian agriculture. On the other hand, although it had, since 1825, stood at a very high nominal figure, there was a considerable agitation in Upper Canada in the early forties in favour of a further concession of privileges in the British market by the abolition of the remaining duties on Canadian wheat and flour. An increased preference was indeed granted in 1843, but by that time the evident approach of the Corn Law repeal rendered the concession of little value.

Turning to the direct treatment of the present proposals, the writer brings forward the following considerations. In the first place, the proposal for a mutual preferential arrangement involves a bargain of an impossible character. "What the imperial preferential advocates, on the two sides of the Atlantic are trying to do, is to divide an expected mutual benefit in such a fashion that each party shall receive about three-fourths of it, on the ground that the other must concede something extra for the sake of sentiment." Professor Shortt is anything but sanguine as to the effect of a preference of six shillings a

quarter in stimulating immigration. A rapid influx of settlers into Canadian territory is already taking place, but "it is not a question of a few cents a bushel that determines their incoming or their location." The preference, the writer thinks, would not in any case fall directly and visibly into the pocket of the Western farmer;—"The effect of the duty being, at the distance of our North West, hopelessly blended with the ordinary variations in prices, it can have no real influence upon immigration to Canada." It is not the natural destiny of Canada to be the granary of the Empire, "as our industries develop and we are able to reach out beyond our own shores in increasing volume, the home market for food will begin to overtake the home supply, and we shall more and more leave the feeding of the Mother Country to the less progressive peoples."

The little book by Messrs. Montagu and Herbert deals with the relation of Canadian interests to Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal policy and the state of public opinion in Canada in regard to the present tariff situation of the Empire. It is the work of two young Englishmen who profess themselves ardent imperialists, but who are opposed to Mr. Chamberlain's plan. In order to secure information at first hand they visited Canada in the autumn of 1903, and interviewed numerous people of various occupations concerning tariff policy. The first part of the book is descriptive, giving a brief account of the agricultural resources of the Dominion, the attitude of the political parties, and the general relations of Canada and the United States. It might be objected that the sympathies of the writers have led them to misrepresent somewhat the respective positions of the two great political parties in regard to the tariff. Too much is perhaps made of the fact that Sir Wilfrid Laurier has declared free trade to be his "ideal." But the matter is, of course, one on which a difference of opinion would be found even among Canadians. On the subject of reciprocity with the United States, the writers adopt a point of view characteristic of the free trade school :—

"It would be a deplorable thing from the point of view of British trade were Canada to enter into a reciprocal treaty with the United States, and would mean considerable loss of trade with Canada. Nevertheless, we maintain that if Canada's true commercial policy lies in the direction of making trade freer than it is at present on the North American continent, that policy will inevitably sooner or later be fulfilled ; and a colonial policy which tries to thwart it for the sake of a few millions of trade is a dangerously obtuse and short-sighted one, and one moreover which, when the time comes, will assuredly fail to achieve its object" (p. 64).

The book is prefaced by a few sympathetic pages from the pen of Lord Rosebery, and contains two appendices. The first of these deals with the agricultural possibilities of Canada, and contains valuable statistical matter strikingly arranged. The second is a collection of Canadian opinions on the present subject.

Mr. C. H. Chomley's discussion of *Protection in Canada and Australasia* is one volume of a series published by Messrs. King and Son, and edited by Mr. William H. Dawson, on protection in various countries, the volumes dealing with Germany and the United States having also appeared. The scope and plan of these works are undoubtedly opportune at the present moment. The value of the series would perhaps have been increased if the tariff question in each of the different countries had been treated from a purely impartial standpoint, the writer aiming at an accurate presentation of the facts and abstaining from the intrusion of personal views. This, Mr. Chomley, at any rate, has not done ; his point of view is that of a convinced free trader. The portion of the book which he devotes to Canada is relatively short. Australia is given one hundred and twelve pages, Canada only seventy-nine. While this may be perhaps explained by the existence until quite recently of the separate tariff systems of the Australian provinces, it is still true that, whether through lack of space or lack of information, Mr. Chomley's treatment of the Canadian tariff, and especially of the tariff history of Canada, is very brief.

Only a meagre account is given of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 and its operation, and very little is said of subsequent movements in the direction of reciprocal commercial relations.

between Canada and the United States. The chief authorities on which the work appears to be written are Mr. Hopkins' *Encyclopaedia of Canada*, Mr. Maclean's little book on the history of the tariff, Professor Shortt's pamphlet on *Imperial Preferential Trade*, and the *Statistical Year Book*. Beyond these hardly any sources of information are referred to in the first six chapters. The two concluding chapters seem to rest on a wider range of material. The first of them deals with the strength of the protectionist feeling in Canada, which the author considers to be the predominant influence at present. "There is," he says, "practically no party fighting for real Free Trade, and large interests are fighting desperately for more protection. For a time the Laurier Government was glibed at for having preached Free Trade and for practising Protection, but lately the cry has been that the lower tariff is ruining Canadian industry." Mr. Chomley draws attention to the marked influence on Canadian affairs of the manufacturing interest. "The well organized manufacturers have far more weight with the Government than workingmen or agriculturists, and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association is vigorously demanding more protection." In his final chapter on *Imperial Preferential Trade* the writer shows the antagonism between the proposals of Mr. Chamberlain and the interests of the manufacturing class in Canada. Valuable as would have been a detailed and thorough account of the origin and operation of the protective system in Canada, it must be confessed that Mr. Chomley's book offers nothing of the sort.

The controversy on the fiscal question that occupied so much space in the periodical literature of 1903 was continued in the magazines of 1904, though with diminishing interest and much repetition. The outbreak of the war in the East removed the question from the foreground of public interest, and the fact that everything of a general character that can be said in regard to it has already been said several times, renders any purely theoretical treatment of the main question increas-



ingly tedious. The most valuable of the year's articles dealing with the problem of fiscal reform have been those of a statistical character, and in the form of special studies. It is impossible to enumerate all the articles on the tariff question in 1904. Those referred to in the ensuing list are mentioned as of especial merit and prominence.

The *National Review* for January, 1904, contained an article on *Fiscal Reform*,\* by Mr. Charles Booth, in defence of the protective system in general, and advocating the adoption of imperial preferences. A general ten per cent. tariff is suggested with preference to colonial products, and with arrangements for reciprocity with outside nations. Sir Robert Giffen contributed in the *Nineteenth Century* an article on *Ineffectual Preferences*.† He argues that a duty of 50 cents a quarter on wheat would not have the desired effect of extending the area of wheat production in Canada, past experience showing that this encouragement would not be sufficient. Large preference could not be borne by British consumers, a small one is of no avail to the farmer. Sir Robert Giffen deprecates the whole fiscal controversy, and thinks it a calamity that the whole country should be in a tumult for so little. In the same magazine appeared a contribution from the opposing side, by Mr. Benjamin Kidd,‡, who argues that we have in various forms of domestic legislation (Factory Acts, etc.) completely broken with the older principle of non-interference with industry. There is hence no presumption on general theoretical grounds in favour of unrestricted trade. Protective duties and preferences are measures to be adopted by a government in defence of the weaker industries, weaker communities, just as Factory Acts protect the individual unable to bargain for himself in the industrial struggle. In the *United Service Magazine* Mr. C. de Thierry, in an article on

\* *Fiscal Reform*. By Charles Booth. (*National Review*, January, 1904, pp. 686-701.)

† *Ineffectual Preferences*. By Sir Robert Giffen. (*Nineteenth Century and After*, January, 1904, pp. 1-11.)

‡ *The Larger Basis of Colonial Preference*. By Benjamin Kidd. (*Ibid.* pp. 12-29.)

*The Colonies and Free Trade*,\* upholds Mr. Chamberlain's plan. "An Imperial customs tariff," he writes, "will be the first step towards the unification of the British Empire." The *Empire Review* for January, 1904, contains several articles on the fiscal question. Professor Foxwell writing under the heading of *Fiscal Illusions*† argues that the effect of protective duties upon industries has been much exaggerated. Mr. W. H. Renwick writes in the *Nineteenth Century* (February, 1904) on *Free Trade and British Shipping*.‡ He argues that foreign shipping subsidies put British shipping in an unfair position, and urges that the preferential arrangements made with the colonies should be such as to keep the trade in British hands, by exclusion of subsidized vessels from the inter-imperial carrying trade. The *Edinburgh Review*, in an article, *Preferential Duties and Colonial Trade*,\*\* opposes the preferential scheme, and denounces Mr. Chamberlain for involving the future of the Empire in the struggle of party politics. The *Contemporary Review* has a unique contribution by Margaret Polson Murray on *The Housekeeper under Protection*.†† The writer's contention is that protection is inevitably connected with high prices and increased cost of living. She draws attention to the fact that the "necessities of life are dear in Canada—Canada is now manufacturing almost every article required by the people. All these are 'protected,' and, after their burdens are met, the housewife has still to face all the demands of government expenditure. In the drains upon the purse for what are called 'necessaries,' such as rent, taxes, gas, water, fuel, food, servants, wages, furniture, clothing, and education, living in Montreal costs from two to three times what it does in London." Very

\* *The Colonies and Free Trade*. By C. de Thierry. (United Service Magazine, January, 1904, pp. 343-359.)

† *Fiscal Illusions*. By Ernest Foxwell (Empire Review, January, 1904, pp. 577-587.)

‡ *Free Trade and British Shipping*. By W. H. Renwick. (Nineteenth Century and After, February, 1904, pp. 323-335.)

\*\* *Preferential Duties and Colonial Trade*. (Edinburgh Review, April, 1904, pp. 279-303.)

†† *The Housekeeper under Protection*. By Margaret Polson Murray. (Contemporary Review, June, 1904, pp. 761-775.)

thorough statistical evidence is advanced in support of this proposition. The *Edinburgh Review* for October prints a further article on the new proposals.\* The writer strongly condemns both the protectionist and the preferential features of Mr. Chamberlain's plan. Of the latter he says : "It may indeed be urged that, as the colonies expand, the benefits accruing to England will grow. Since, however, colonial expansionists seem to be all in favour of the development of industries manufacturing goods now supplied by us, the growth is not likely to be large. It will be of little avail that our manufacturers are favoured as against foreign rivals, if through the duties still retained against them they are beaten by the colonists themselves."

STEPHEN LEACOCK.

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*A History of Two Reciprocity Treaties : The Treaty with Canada in 1854. The Treaty with the Hawaiian Islands in 1876. With a chapter on The Treaty-making power of the House of Representatives.* By Chalfant Robinson. New Haven, 1904. Pp. 220.

The subject of reciprocity with Canada has in recent years been much discussed in the United States, and Mr. Robinson's volume was presented at Yale University for the Ph. D. degree. His research has been elaborate. He has made copious use of the official records both in the United States and Canada and the statistical tables which he has prepared are of special value in showing the significance of the Treaty of 1854.

In the present-day discussion of preferential trade, it is too often forgotten that such a system prevailed in the British Empire until the middle of the nineteenth century. For a very long time, Britain gave special favours to some Canadian products. When Peel carried Free Trade these were doomed. Canadian lumber had been specially favoured, but the preference was reduced one-half, and ceased altogether by 1860.

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\* *Mr. Chamberlain's Proposals.* (*Edinburgh Review*, October, 1904, pp. 449-476.)

The result was great distress in Canada and bitter resentment against Great Britain for the ruin caused to Canadian trade. This side of the question Mr. Robinson has not quite understood. He speaks (p. 33) as if it was almost an accident that Lord Elgin went to Washington in 1854 to promote reciprocity. In fact, Lord Elgin, aware of the distress which free trade temporarily involved for Canada, had been for years trying to get relief for the Canadian producers by opening to them the markets of the United States.

If not fully seized of the situation in Canada, Mr. Robinson has clearly grasped that in the United States. The Americans wanted free access to the Canadian fisheries, disputes about which were so acute in 1852. War was actually imminent as a result of the seizure by Canada of American vessels. The South, however, was convinced that war would involve the annexation of Canada, and did not wish the balance between free and slave states to be disturbed in this way. So to avoid annexation the South favoured peace and reciprocity. Laurence Oliphant has described with the pen of a satirist Lord Elgin's festivities in Washington with the view to winning the democratic senators. But probably the festivities really counted for very little, since the slave party, to which the democratic senators belonged, wanted reciprocity in any case.

Mr. Robinson discusses with entire fairness the reasons for the abrogation of the Treaty. During its course, according to American statistics, which differ from the Canadian figures, but not materially, the United States' exports to British dominions amounted to \$300,466,314, while the return exports were \$219,281,114 (p.207). Yet the statistics are less significant than they seem. During nearly the whole period of the Treaty conditions were abnormal. In the United States there was a stupendous war ; in Canada railways were for the first time being extensively constructed. Nor did either country quite understand itself in relation to the Treaty. When the war was over, heavy taxation was imposed in the United States and Mr. Robinson thinks that the desire to do justice to the farmer

thus grievously taxed, by protecting him like other classes, closed the American market to Canadian agriculture. He does not forget subsidiary causes but regards this as the real one.

We have noticed hardly any errors in the book. It contains the text of the Treaty, and a copious bibliography, and is a valuable addition to the literature of the subject.

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Mr. Wharton Barker, discussing *American Commercial Union*,\* reprints correspondence with Sir Wilfrid Laurier in which that statesman emphatically asserts that Canada will make no further advances to the United States. A letter from the late President Hayes in which he looks forward "with confidence to the unification of all English-speaking people on this continent under one government" (p. 347) will not be received with the same complacent satisfaction in Canada, where there is a fixed resolve to maintain political independence of the United States.

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Perhaps the world is growing a little weary of discussing *Problems of Empire*.† Mr. Brassey bears an honoured name. He has travelled, and in two or three addresses on Canada included in the volume he shows intelligence ; but he accepted too eagerly the assurance given him in Canada that, had Mr. Chamberlain's policy been adopted twenty years ago, the country would now contain twenty million people. This is an absurd exaggeration ; for it means that the population would have more than doubled itself in each period of ten years. The growth of the United States is phenomenal, but no ten-year period since 1790 has shown anything like that rate of increase.

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Mr. Colquhoun devotes a chapter in his *Greater America*‡ to Canada and Pan-Americanism. He points out what is now

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\**American Commercial Union*. By Wharton Barker. (The North American Review, March, 1904, pp. 338-347.)

†*Problems of Empire. Papers and Addresses*. By the Hon. T. A. Brassey. London : Arthur L. Humphreys, 1904. Pp. xiv, 255.

‡*Greater America*. By Archibald R. Colquhoun. With maps. New York and London : Harper & Brothers, 1904. Pp. ix, 435.

attracting much attention, that the Monroe Doctrine is one of the chief defences of Canada from outside aggression. He asks what are the chances for Pan-Americanism, which we take to mean the political consolidation of interests, on the northern continent, and points out that the chief barrier to union with the United States "is the strength of Canadian sentiment—not what is usually called loyalty, but the honest determination of Canadians to work out their own salvation on their own lines." We do not understand what he means when he says that French immigration to Canada stopped some forty years ago (p. 23) ; it practically stopped nearly two hundred years ago.

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Since its first publication, the work of M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu on modern colonization\* has been accepted as authoritative. We should have noted before the appearance of a fifth edition. M. Leroy-Beaulieu doubts the supposed beneficial effect upon England of the Navigation Acts, even in the 17th century. He gives but slight attention to French colonization in Canada. His work has special value as a survey of the whole field of modern colonization and it is odd that the great colonizing state, Britain, has produced no book to rival it.

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\* *De la Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes.* Par Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. Cinquième édition. 2 vols. Paris : Guillaumin et Cie., 1902. Pp. xxv, 538, 725.

## II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA

*La Cosmographie avec l'espère et régime du soleil et du nord.* Par Jean Fonteneau dit Alfonse de Saintonge, capitaine-pilote de Francois Ier. Publiée et annotée par Georges Musset. Paris : Ernest Leroux, 1904. Pp. 599.

Previous to the appearance of this complete edition of Alfonse's *Cosmographie*, the work was only known by the analyses published by Margry\* and Biggar.† Although the whole work is now accessible, the portion of interest to Canadians is that in which Jean Alfonse describes the region about the gulf and river St. Lawrence. One hopes that this was not the particular portion of the American part of the MS. for the editing of which M. Musset received the Loubat prize ; for the work cannot by any stretch of imagination be said to be well done. To mention only two gross errors, the falls of Montmorency, as described by Alfonse, are identified with Niagara Falls, and no attempt has been made to collate the French text with the English version given in the third volume of Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*. Had this been done such slips as *Apouas* for *Aponas* (p. 478) and *Ouguedo* for *Onguedo* (p. 486) would not have been made, and the several phrases and words given only in the English version might have been added.

Again in the preparation of this edition M. Musset has not made use of any of the modern *Pilots* of Newfoundland or the gulf of St. Lawrence. The MS. was sent to him at La Rochelle where it was printed, and the editor made no attempt to consult at Paris any of these modern works nor any Admiralty charts. Had this been done we should not have had "Roqueuse (ou Rogneuse)" (p. 477) for our modern Renewse 10 miles north of Cape Race. In fact, not only are various incorrect readings given of well known proper names, but at

\* *Les Navigations françaises*, chap. v, pp. 225 et seq. (Paris, 1867.)

† *Early Trading Companies of New France*, pp. 222 et seq. (Toronto, 1901.)

page 488 we have the word *praiois*, which means "meadows," spelt "prarois (ou praiois ou encore poaios ou poarois)." Such disfigurations of the printed page might have been avoided by the employment of a little more care. In fact, for the whole of this portion of the MS. the editor has merely consulted Wytfliet (p. 479), Lescarbot (p. 478), the *Atlas historique* of Châtelain issued in 1719 (p. 485), Charlevoix's history (p. 479), some *Instructions nautiques* of 1784 (p. 478), and a *Pilote américain* of 1826 (p. 499). The only modern map used was one issued in 1853 (p. 481). Although the editor frequently refers vaguely to Harrisse's *Terre Neuve*, yet this work can by no means take the place of the Admiralty *Pilots* for these regions. The result is that Blanc Sablon is called an island (p. 480), and the island of Orleans is placed "en amont de Québec" (p. 491). As this portion of the MS. is about to be reissued in Canada with full notes and correct identifications, a more lengthy notice of this edition is not called for here.

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*Dochet (St. Croix) Island.* A Monograph by W. F. Ganong. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, 1902-1903, vol. viii, section ii, pp. 127-232.)

Dr. Ganong has divided his interesting monograph on Dochet's island into the following four periods: (1) the Acadian, 1604-1632, (2) the Boundary discussions, 1796-1799, (3) the Modern, 1799-1902, and (4) the Future. The history of the island during these years is preceded by a short description of its geology, wherein the writer shows how "the intermingling of the clay and sand . . . makes the soil very pervious to water ; and this, together with its shallowness, does not allow the presence of springs, nor the possibility of good wells." This statement accounts for the necessity under which the French found themselves in 1604 of obtaining their fresh water from the mainland, but even to this day "the floating ice makes it difficult or even unsafe to cross from the island . . . especially when there is any wind." Again, the winter of



1604-05 seems to have been of exceptional severity. Champlain tells us that snow "surprised them" on the 6th of October. As they had almost cleared the whole island of timber for their buildings, they stood exposed to the fierce northern blasts which swept down the bay. For all these reasons the settlement was removed to Port Royal in the summer of 1605.

The present name appears to be derived from "Dosia," a contraction of Theodosia, which was the name of a certain pretty Miss Milberry of St. Stephen. Dr. Ganong always prints the French name *sainte Croix* as "St. Croix," because it was "anglicized to St. (not Ste.) Croix in connection with the boundary disputes in 1797." One question, however, whether the so-called anglicism was not due to ignorance. It is in any case worthy of note that in the English translation of the Cleveland edition of the Jesuit Relations it is always printed "Ste."

Dr. Ganong prints the extracts from Champlain and from Lescarbot, which describe the settlement at Ste. Croix, and also gives English translations. In the latter a few errors are noticeable. The old French *barque* corresponds to our long-boat, and not to our barque. A sketch of one is given on the map at page 157. He misses the meaning of one passage. The French text is as follows :

"& ne fut pas mal allé de s'estre logé & avoir defriché l'île avant l'hiver, tandis que pardeça on faisoit courir les levrets souz le nom de maitre Guillaume, farcis de toutes sortes de nouvelles : par lesquels entre autres choses ce pronostiqueur disoit que le sieur de Monts arrachoit des épines en Canada" (p. 177),

and the meaning—

"and they had not done badly to lodge themselves and clear the island before winter set in, while on this side the ocean [*i.e.*, in France] news-letters were distributed over the signature of Master William, a farcis of all kinds of reports, wherein this prophet among others things reported that the Sieur de Monts was busy clearing his path in Canada."

Dr. Ganong has read it to mean that "the young gentlemen [at Ste. Croix] amused themselves in winter, as the men of arctic expeditions do to this day, by issuing the equivalent of a newspaper, probably not printed, but written out by

hand." "What," he adds, "would not we collectors of local literature be tempted to give for a complete set of *Master William* issued on Dochet Island in the winter of 1604-5."\* Dr. Ganong seems hardly correct again in assuming (p. 184), note 4) that the phrase, "Car la malediction & rage de beaucoup de Crétiens est telle, qu'il se faut plus donner garde d'eux que des peuples infideles" (p. 177) refers either "to a possible attack by the English" or "to some treachery or mutiny within the party itself."† Lescarbot would appear to be referring merely to the cruel treatment which the various European nations then meted out to each other when they met outside the bounds of Europe. At page 194 is a mistranslation from the Cleveland edition of the Jesuit Relations. The phrase, "& qu'il y estoit resté luy cinquiesme" does not mean "and that he [Sieur de Biencourt] would get his fifth therefrom," but that Captain Platrier was spending the winter at Ste. Croix "with four other men."

Except for such slips, which are almost unavoidable in every work, the paper is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the first French settlement in Acadia, and one can only hope that Dr. Ganong will continue his most interesting investigations into the local history of those parts.

Mr. Duncan furnishes in a small volume ‡ an admirably conceived and executed short history of Canada. The growth of the North-west has involved a change of plan in such text books. The history of exploration, of the fur-trade, and of settlement in the North and North-west, not only extends over a longer period than the average man supposes, but is of itself of profound interest. Living in the West Mr. Duncan has perceived this, and he gives an account, adequate for so short a book, of the early history of regions only recently made a part of Canada. The plan includes a preliminary chapter on

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\* P. 184, note 2. Cf. also p. 188.

† Cf. also p. 187.

‡ *The Story of the Canadian People*. By David M. Duncan. Toronto : Morang & Co., Limited, 1904. Pp. xxvii, 428.

geography, and another on the native races. There are also a useful table of dates, a good index, including directions as to pronunciation, and an excellent short bibliography. The illustrations, numbering nearly two hundred, are by far the best that have yet appeared in any school-book on Canada. There are more than twenty maps and plans. Specially commendable are the chapters on social life. The book is distinctly readable. It is true that Mr. Duncan's style, which is full of promise, has not yet gained flexibility and variety. The following passage, taken at random, will show what we mean :—

"There had been such a falling off in trade that the revenue returns were greatly reduced. The Government had to face an ever increasing deficit. The 'National Policy' proposed to raise the tariff so as not only to produce a revenue, but also to protect the young industries of the country. 'Canada for the Canadians' was the watchword of the Conservative party. The tariff became the main question upon which the two political parties differed. The general tendency of the Liberals has been towards free trade, while their opponents have steadily favoured a protective tariff. In the elections of 1878 the cry of 'Canada for the Canadians' proved very attractive, and carried the Conservatives back to power" (p. 365).

Here all the sentences are on the same model ; there is no attempt to produce emphasis by variation in the order of the words. We expect to hear more of Mr. Duncan in the literary world, and his attention to vivacity of style will add much to the vigour of his writing.

Mr. Roberts' *History of Canada*\* has been reprinted in the form of a school text-book. Admirable as it is in style it is perhaps doubtful whether it is not too descriptive for school purposes. There is a supplementary chapter on Government in Canada which is not quite satisfactory. That "the peers of Great Britain hold their seats for life, and the honour is hereditary" (p. 448) is not the whole truth, since there are life peers. Britain does not appoint the Commander-in-Chief of the Canadian Militia (p. 448); neither the House of Lords nor the Canadian Cabinet is formally limited in number; and so on through a number of minor errors. With such

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\* *A History of Canada*. For High Schools and Academies. By Charles G. D. Roberts. Toronto, Morang & Co., Ltd., 1904. Pp. xxii, 492.

faults the book is still probably the most attractive short history of Canada yet written; but it is better fitted for the general reader than for the school.

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*La Vie Militaire à L'Etranger : Les Milices Françaises et Anglaises au Canada, 1627-1900.* Paris : Henri Charles-Lavauzelle, [1902]. Pp. 368.

This readable and instructive volume is divided into two nearly equal parts, one containing a very satisfactory summary of the history of the Canadian Militia from the time of the formation of the first "home-guard" for the protection of Quebec and Montreal against the raids of the Iroquois, to the occupation of Pretoria, the other dealing effectively with the present organization of the military forces of the Dominion. The anonymous author is unquestionably well-informed, painstaking, and judicial. His criticisms are frank and trenchant.

The affair at Chateauguay is naturally discussed at considerable length and the accounts which state De Salaberry's force on that occasion at from 300 to 562 men are all summarily rejected, and it is argued with much reason that the strength of the British advance guard under that officer's immediate command and on the morning of the 26th October, 1813, could not have fallen much short of 1200 rank and file, while the main body under Major-General Watteville was well within supporting distance. How many of these were actually brought into action it is, of course, impossible to ascertain. The smallness of the loss on this occasion, the author aptly remarks, once more proves the truth of Voltaire's military maxim : "Ce n'est pas le nombre des morts mais l'épouvante de ceux qui survivent qui fait perdre les batailles."

The well known tradition which represents De Salaberry as resorting to the expedient of distributing his buglers through the woods, with orders to sound numerous calls in order to lead the enemy to believe that reinforcements were advancing to his support from different quarters, reminds the author

of a similar stratagem by which Captain Detrie of the French army in command of only 110 men succeeded in beating off 2000 Juarists at Cerro Borrego in the Mexican war.

The ignominious skirmish at Ridgeway is fairly enough described as "une triste page pour l'histoire de la milice canadienne" and the causes of this humiliating repulse are enumerated as follows :

1st. Lack of preparation for speedy mobilization of the troops, both regulars and militia.

2nd. The total want of cavalry in the first instance. The Governor General's Body Guard as a result of tardy mobilization came upon the field too late to be of any real service. "Ils arrivèrent d'ailleurs sur le terrain des opérations comme les carabiniers d'Offenbach" (p. 127).

4th. "L'absence d'unité et d'autorité dans la direction des opérations."

The unpremeditated but successful charge which carried the rifle-pits at Batoche is compared to a similar and probably better known incident of the Spanish-American War.

"Ils se produisit alors exactement le même phénomène qu' à San Juan Hill en 1898 lors de l'attaque des positions espagnoles. Nul ne sait quand et par qui fut donné le signal de l'assaut. On dit que les miliciens étaient éternés, las d'attendre l'ordre final que le général hésitait à donner. Ce fut une affaire d'initiative individuelle, une co-opération d'efforts particuliers" (p. 156).

The narrative is illustrated by a dozen small but very satisfactory plans extending from Carillon (Ticonderoga) to Paardeberg, but its usefulness as a work of reference is seriously impaired by numerous distressing misprints of names of men and places.

The subsequent detailed account of the existing composition of the Canadian military forces and their methods of instruction is perhaps the most sensible and instructive to be found anywhere in print.

E. CRUIKSHANK.

A new and illustrated edition of the late John Fiske's *New France*\* is attractive. There are 170 illustrations including old maps, plans, facsimiles of printed pages, autographs, etc. Probably the book itself is the least thorough and satisfactory of Mr. Fiske's historical work. Much labour has been spent in selecting the illustrations.

In *Les Intendants de la Nouvelle-France*† M. Roy gives elaborate genealogical notes concerning the fifteen Intendants of New France. The first of them never crossed the Atlantic though, no doubt, he drew all the emoluments of the post; the last of them was the notorious Bigot whose ancestry, as outlined here, was respectable, if his character was not. The coat of arms of each Intendant is given, as also, in some cases, his portrait. No very extensive research has been involved in the paper, though M. Roy has used the Archives at Ottawa and much printed material. His tracing out of genealogies has, however, considerable value for the student of the French régime.

*Les Normands au Canada : Jean Bourdon et son ami l'abbé de Saint-Sauveur. Episodes des temps héroïques de notre histoire.* Par L'Abbé Auguste Gosselin. Quebec: Dussault et Proulx, Imprimeurs, 1904. Pp. viii, 248.

The accomplished author has published a series of historical studies in *La Revue Catholique de Normandie* under the general title *Les Normands au Canada*, two of which are combined into one in the volume before us. Its subjects are Jean Bourdon, the first regular engineer and surveyor, and Jean Le Sueur, the first secular priest, who came out to Canada. The latter gave his title to the faubourg Saint Sauveur, of Quebec. They are only secondary personages, it is true, but the learned abbé affirms that history is made up of the virtues, labours, and patriotic devotion of secondary person-

\* *New France and New England.* By John Fiske. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904. Pp. xxx, 338.

† *Les Intendants de la Nouvelle-France.* Par Régis Roy. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 2nd series, vol. ix, section i, pp. 65-107.)

ages, and therefore claims for Bourdon and his friend their due place in the history of the making of Canada.

Jean Bourdon was born at Rouen. He came to Canada in 1634 at the age of about twenty-two. He was by profession a surveyor, architect and engineer, but could turn his hand to anything. A graphic picture is given of the misery which weighed upon France, as the result of the civil and religious wars, and impelled a number of peasants and artisans to emigrate to New France.

Le Sueur, who was to become Bourdon's inseparable friend, came out at the same time. Le Sueur had been curé of Saint-Sauveur in Normandy, and in Canada he was generally called M. de Saint-Sauveur.

"He was," says M. Gosselin, "at Quebec, Bourdon's table companion, and *alter ego*; he became later on the tutor of his children; he was the companion of his life, his work, his travels; he was his friend and guide; and these two honest Normans, after being so intimately associated during life, remained so also in death, for they died in the same year (1668), at Quebec, and there their mortal remains were laid to rest."

M. Gosselin thinks that the transfer of the privilege of trading by the Hundred Partners to the Company of the Habitants was not advantageous to New France. It led to wrangling, intrigues, and discontent, and checked the colony's progress. Bourdon became general manager of the Company after his return from a journey to the Iroquois. In 1647 he was elected *procureur syndic* by the habitants, and as their representative laid before the governor their complaints against the directors.

Bourdon's services were recognized by liberal grants of land. Among his fiefs and seigniories was that of Lauzon at Point Lévis. In 1656 the French court directed him to take possession of Hudson Bay in the king's name. He set out on the 2nd of May, 1657, Le Sueur accompanying him, and sailed some distance along the Labrador coast, but went no farther than the 55th degree of latitude. He was compelled to turn back, the Eskimos having murdered his Huron guides. His mission was a failure. The long-current belief that he actually entered the Bay in 1656 is based on a forgery, the text of which

is given in the original by Marcel and in English by Broadhead. The legend was demolished by J. Edmond Roy, and M. Gosselin formally revokes the sanction given to it in his *Life of Bishop Laval*.

The book is without an alphabetical index. Packed as it is with names of early settlers, it loses a large part of its value to the student, through this unfortunate defect.

JAMES H. COYNE.

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*Jean Talon, Intendant de la Nouvelle France (1665-1672).*  
Par Thomas Chapais. Québec : S. A. Demers, 1904.  
Pp. xxii, 540.

The great intendant waited long for his biographer. M. Chapais has devoted years of patient, conscientious and productive work to the task of collecting, analyzing, and presenting in attractive form, the existing material relating to Talon's life and work. The task involved research in the archives of Paris, Ottawa and Quebec, the examination of scores of publications, many of them bulky volumes, the list of which occupies five pages of the introduction, besides much correspondence and many consultations with those having special knowledge or access to special sources of information.

Talon's direct connection with Canada as intendant was brief, extending only from 1665 to 1672, and during 22 months of that period he was absent from the country. But what a period it was ! To borrow M. Chapais' language :

"It was a decisive epoch of our history. Founded by the illustrious Champlain in 1608, criminally neglected by the companies to which the kings of France delegated the suzerainty of our soil, conquered by the English in 1629, French once more in 1632, again given over to rapacious traders, and presently ravaged by barbarous foes, the little Canadian colony dragged out a languishing existence in constant jeopardy for more than half a century, under Messieurs de Montmagny, d'Ailleboust, de Lauzon, d'Argenson, d'Avaugour, and de Mézy. From 1640 to 1664 especially the situation of New France was tragical. . . . The colonists knew no security, and lived in the midst of alarms. How did they manage to hold out so long without help ? It is the miracle of those heroic times !"

Then Louis XIV and his great minister, Colbert, turned their attention to New France. A new régime began with the disappearance of the Company of the Hundred Partners.



The king sent out as his representatives the triumvirate—Tracy, Courcelles and Talon. While the Governor-General and Lieutenant-Governor devoted themselves to the work of securing and maintaining peace with the Iroquois, the intendant Talon applied himself to constructive work within the colony, the creation of enduring institutions, the organization of an administrative service, strengthening the social organism, developing the native resources of the country, stimulating its energies, and directing the discovery and exploration of vast unknown territories to the north, west and southwest. The result is briefly stated :

"At the end of those seven years, New France was safe. It had acquired an indestructible vitality, and neither internal crises, nor bloody conflicts, nor political upheavals, could henceforth dispossess our people of their Laurentian domain, nor wrest from them their traditional entity."

M. Chapais not unreasonably awards his hero one of the three or four foremost places among the founders of Canada. But he has not attempted to conceal the blemishes. Talon was pre-eminently a man of his time, and of his environment, parliamentary and administrative. If the straight road did not promise speedy success, he took unhesitatingly the devious path. Such is M. Chapais' judgment. The great battle was raging between the Gallican and Ultramontane forces. The Jesuits were in control in New France, and the governors successively and inevitably came into conflict with them. Talon was no exception. Under the new régime, the Recollets, excluded since the cession of 1632, were brought back to Canada by the king's authority, and the Sulpitians received an accession of numbers, of wealth and of influence. Talon cheerfully used them as a counterpoise to the "black robes." He was not in sympathy with the latter. On this question, he and his biographer are no longer on friendly terms. M. Chapais, if not judicial in spirit, is, at least, frank in his avowal:

"Before certain facts and principles, it has seemed to us appropriate to express our own opinion sincerely and loyally. Thus in writing this book, every time we have encountered in our path the disagreeable figure of Gallicanism, we have not concealed the sentiments it inspires in us. Gallicanism, in our eyes, was one of the great weaknesses and scourges of the old régime

in France and Canada. Talon's life has furnished us more than one proof, and we have profited by it to affirm distinctly (*nettement*) our convictions on the subject."

Of Talon's life, prior to 1665 and subsequent to his leaving Canada in 1672, little if anything was known, until M. Chapais undertook his investigations. These led to the discovery of documents, still unedited, and of historical collections rare and difficult of access. The result claimed by M. Chapais is that he has been enabled to reconstruct in its *ensemble*, if not in all its details, the life of the first intendant of New France who actually entered upon the duties of his office.

The Talon family was originally Irish, it is said. The fact is disputed, but the undoubted interest which the intendant took in Ireland and its affairs appears clearly by certain legacies in his will, which is given for the first time in the appendix, after having been covered with the dust of more than two centuries. The Talon family in its various branches included many who held conspicuous positions in the army, the church, and the administration. Jean Talon was one of eleven children. He studied in Paris at the Jesuit college of Clermont. Laval was a student of the same institution about the same time. During the troubles of the Fronde, Talon espoused the side of Mazarin, and served in 1654 as intendant under Turenne in Flanders. In 1655, at the age of thirty, he is intendant of Hainault. Talon held this intendency for ten years. He was then promoted to that of New France. At the same time the king granted to him the estate of Locquignol, in Hainault, in recognition of his services. Before leaving France he had several interviews with the king and Colbert. Apparently this was not a desirable promotion, and he was assured that he should not be obliged to hold it more than two years. The king gave him a long and elaborate memorandum of instructions in which the Jesuits were handled severely. Talon was to watch them and report. This memorandum is a state paper of the very first importance. It embodies the programme of the king and Colbert for the development of Canada. To carry it into effect called for a high order of statesmanship, and a more

capable man for the purpose than Talon it would have been hard to find.

How he performed the task assigned is told by M. Chapais in detail. Forts were erected along the Richelieu ; expeditions were sent against the Iroquois, who soon sued for peace. Thus the colony was left free to develop without fear of Iroquois attacks. Immigrants came in by the hundred at the king's expense. The Carignan-Salières regiment was disbanded, and thus an important addition was made to the population. Agents were sent to various parts of the country to search for minerals. Talon encouraged the growth of hemp. Ships are built in the colony. Villages are established near Quebec in a seigniory belonging to the Jesuits. They protest, but the intendant goes on with the work. A census is taken, the first official census of Canada. It shows a population of 3,215, besides the troops, of whom there were about 1200. The clergy, including the bishop, numbered 54, and there were forty-six *religieuses*.

The regulation and reduction of tithes was but a single incident in the battle between the civil and religious powers. The charge was repeated by Talon in his reports to the king and Colbert, that the Jesuits carried on an illicit trade in furs. He complains of clerical interference with the civil power. M. Chapais vehemently defends the Jesuits, and attributes the whole trouble, including the royal instructions, the king's charges against the Jesuits, and the reduction of the tithe, to the brandy trade, which he considers at some length. The clergy were out-and-out prohibitionists, as far as the Indians were concerned. Talon and the Council, with whom his influence was supreme, saw the other side. Were the Indians to be handed over to the English ? If they could get brandy from the latter and not from the French, there was little doubt who would get the furs ; the French trading-posts might as well be abandoned. The political and commercial interests of the colony were, in fact, imperilled by the action of the Bishop and the clergy. So the Council reasoned.

Talon's administration will be forever striking through the impulse given to discovery. Galinée and Dollier de Casson explored the great lakes as far as Sault Ste. Marie. Simultaneously, Jolliet descended the lakes from Sault Ste. Marie to Montreal. La Salle (M. Chapais erroneously makes him arrive in Canada in 1666) began his career as an explorer. M. Chapais adopts Parkman's view as to La Salle's employment during the autumn and winter of 1669-1670. St. Lussou took possession of the whole upper country for the French king. Albanel was sent by way of the Saguenay and Mistassini to Hudson Bay; the English, however, had arrived before him. Jolliet and Marquette prepared for their great voyage of discovery to the Mississippi. The result of these explorations was to add an empire to the French domain, and to confine the English to a narrow strip of Atlantic sea-board between New France and Florida.

Talon remained in Canada two months after Frontenac's arrival. The governor easily concluded that the intendant's authority was excessive, but they managed to get along without apparent friction. Among the incidents of this period was the creation by Talon of upwards of sixty seigniories or fiefs. The effect, in M. Chapais' opinion, was beneficial to the country. His departure from the colony was deplored by all. The king honoured him with a seigniory near Quebec and the title of Baron des Islets, and subsequently with that of Comte d'Orsainville. He died unmarried in 1694. M. Chapais sums up his character in these terms: "Talon, notwithstanding certain weaknesses and prejudices, was an honest man, a good citizen, an eminent magistrate, a remarkable administrator." He has certainly found in M. Chapais a laborious, a conscientious and a capable biographer.

JAMES H. COYNE.

The Countess of Frontenac\* was married at the age of 16, in opposition to her father's wishes. He was furious when

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\* *La Comtesse de Frontenac, 1632-1707.* Par T. P. Bedard. Lévis: Pierre-Georges Roy, 1904. Pp. 96.

he heard of it. "I am only fifty," he cried, "I'll marry again. I'll have twelve children. She shan't get anything beyond her mother's dowry." He did in fact marry a second time and one daughter was born of the second marriage, but he became reconciled after a time to the elder daughter. The Countess of Frontenac was never in Canada. Accustomed to the elegance and refinement of the highest French society, she was reluctant to exchange them for the crudeness and *ennui* of a new settlement. This, according to M. Bedard, is the secret of her extraordinary relations with her husband. They were good friends and she rendered good service at court to Frontenac. Beautiful, living apart from her husband and amid the temptations of court-life, she appears to have always escaped calumny.

A romantic incident connected with Frontenac's expedition against the Iroquois in 1696 forms the subject of an interesting pamphlet\*. Immense preparations had been made for the venture; including regulars, the entire militia force, the Abenaki and Huron Indians, nearly 2,500 men were to meet at Isle Perrot in the beginning of July, to invade the Iroquois country. A girl of 16, belonging to the Island of Orleans, whose lover was to serve on the expedition, conceived or adopted an ingenious plan for preventing its departure. Masquerading in her brother's clothes, she was taken to Quebec in a canoe. The canoeist drank in with eager ears the startling story she unfolded. She had just escaped from Boston prisons, in which she had been detained for three years. M. de Saint-Castin had given her a canoe and an Indian, and entrusted her with important despatches for Frontenac. The canoe had been stolen the night before while she was sleeping at the eastern extremity of the Island of Orleans. M. d'Iberville, who with two vessels had appeared opposite Boston, had been captured and burnt. The

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\* *Un Procès Criminel à Québec au dix-septième siècle : Anne Edmond accusée de s'être travestie en homme et d'avoir répandu de fausses nouvelles.* Publié par Pierre-Georges Roy. Lévis, 1904. Pp. 38.

cruel Bostonians had forced her to assist in the horrible execution. Passing Rivière-du-Loup she had seen four English cruisers off Tadoussac. Thirty other war-ships were shortly to sail from Boston to seize Quebec. The story produced intense excitement in the Canadian capital. She proceeded to the Château Saint-Louis, where the unreasonableness of her story was immediately detected. Tried and convicted before M. Chartier de Lôtbinière, lieutenant-general of the prévôté, she was condemned to be taken to every city square, and flogged upon her bare shoulders by the executioner of *la haute justice*. Such is the story concisely told by M. Roy in his brief introduction. La Potherie mentions the incident in his third volume, page 269, and it is also considered by Hubert La Rue, in *Les Soirées Canadiennes*, 1861, page 163. The book contains the official records of the trial, including the interrogatories, replies and sentence. The girl alleged that the original suggestion had come from her lover, and his and her brothers. Her brother denied the charge. The lover and his brother were not called.

The tithe was first established in New France in 1663, by ordinance of the king, at the instance of Bishop Laval. It was fixed at one-thirteenth, for the support of the seminary at Quebec, which was at that time charged with the maintenance of the missions. Disputes arose between the governor Mézy and the bishop as to the meaning of the ordinance. The tithe was not regularly paid until 1667, when it was cut in two by the Sovereign Council. One-twenty-sixth it has remained ever since. It was paid however only on grain. Hay, vegetables, fruit, cattle, sheep, hemp, and other products were exempt. The paper by the Abbé Gosselin\* deals with an action brought in 1705 by the curés Boulard and Du Fournel before the Superior Council of Quebec for a declaration that the tithe was payable under the ordinance of 1667

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\* *Un épisode de l'histoire de la dime au Canada (1705-1707)*. Par M. l'abbé Auguste Gosselin. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. 2nd series, vol. ix, section i, pp. 45-63.)

on practically every product of the soil, with or without cultivation, and on all live stock. The Council decided adversely. The Canadian clergy joined the original plaintiffs in an appeal to the king from the decision, but asked further that the rate of one-thirteenth should be reimposed under the ordinance of 1663. The appeal failed. The tithe remained as before. Abbé Gosselin considers, however, that the clergy really profited by their action, in getting a confirmation by the king, not merely of the tithe as actually paid, but of the edict of 1679 which gave the curés and missionaries recourse to the Superior Council in case of their incomes from tithes being insufficient.

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*Relation par Lettres de L'Amérique Septentrionale. (Années 1709 et 1710). Editée et annotée par Le P. Camille de Rochemonteix. Paris : Letouzey et Ané, 1904. Pp. lxiv, 222.*

This appears to be the *editio princeps* of these Jesuit letters, although the MS. bears an *imprimatur* under the authority of the Keeper of the Seals, dated in 1725. There are 92 letters, unsigned. The first 56 are dated from Quebec, 46 of them written in 1709, and 10 in 1710. The remainder have no date and do not indicate where they were written. They are addressed to an unnamed person, who had evinced a desire to be particularly informed about Canada. The present editor is of the opinion that the epistolary form and the address were mere literary devices, to give the writer more freedom in his descriptions. The intrinsic evidence bears out this view. It also shows that the writer was not a man of the world, a layman. He was a missionary and a Jesuit. The editor summarily disposes of the idea that either Lafitau or Laure, both of whom reached Quebec in 1712, could have been the author. The letters had been written before their arrival. Marest had perhaps the knowledge and experience necessary, but he was among the Illinois for nearly 15 years before his death in 1715. Charlevoix was at Quebec from 1705 to 1709,

but could not have written the letters of 1710. Moreover he had never up to that time visited the missions and tribes described in the letters. Besides, the style is not that of Charlevoix.

But Charlevoix made use of the letters, without acknowledgment; the *esprit de corps* of the religious orders permits this to be done. His account of the Eskimos in the *Journal Historique* shows that he borrowed extensively; an important point in the *Journal* is that the beginning and ending of his letters are singularly like those of the letters under review. Both writers explain in the first letters their reasons for adopting the epistolary style. After the death of Charlevoix in 1761, the MS. of the letters was deposited in the College Louis-le-Grand. It is a quarto of 322 pages including table of contents. The writing is that of a copyist. By a process of elimination and comparison M. de Rochemonteix arrives at the conclusion that the real author is Père Antoine Silvy. "He alone unites all necessary conditions; he is the only person that could have composed it."

Silvy was born, Oct. 16, 1638, at Aix in Provence. He entered the Company of Jesus in 1658. In 1673 he was at Quebec, and in the following year he was sent to the Ottawa missions. With headquarters at Michillimackinac, his operations extended to the tribes south of Lake Michigan and between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. In 1678 he was transferred to the Tadoussac mission, embracing all the tribes from Labrador to the Great Lakes, and from the mouth of the Saguenay to Hudson Bay. La Potherie calls him a missionary "of consummate merit." In 1686 he accompanied, as chaplain, a small force of Canadians to Hudson Bay. Later on he returned to the Bay by sea, accompanying the troops as chaplain. In 1694 he went back to the College at Quebec, where he remained until his death. A number of his writings remain, including a Journal, which is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. M. de Rochemonteix in comparing the Journal with the Letters finds the same manner of writing, and the



same inaccuracies of style. The Letters differ only in being less lively, showing the effects of age. The passages dealing with the Eskimos agree so exactly that little doubt remains as to the authorship. Silvy died the 8th of May, 1711. In 1720 Charlevoix returned to Quebec, to collect the necessary documents for his "Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle-France." Naturally, the Letters would be placed at his disposal, and they were carried back with him to France. After the suppression of the Jesuits in 1762 by the Parliament of Paris, and the confiscation of their property, the Letters, with other valuable MSS. were purchased by a Dutchman named Gérard Meerman. In 1824, they were sold by his heirs to Thomas Phillips, an Englishman. He died in 1872. In 1887, the German Government bought that part of the Phillips library that had belonged to the Collège Louis-le-Grand, and the Letters are now domiciled in the Royal Library at Berlin, which placed them at the disposition of M. de Roche-monteix. The editor has reproduced them faithfully with all errors. There are a number of foot-notes, explanatory of the text. Father Marest's account in Latin of his journey and mission to Hudson Bay in 1694 is included in the volume, as also Father Silvy's *Journal* from Bell' Isle to Port Nelson.

The Letters themselves are full of information upon many subjects. The manners and customs of the Indians generally are treated at great length. Each tribe from the Mississippi to Labrador, and from the Illinois, Miamis and Iroquois inclusive, northward to Hudson Bay, receives special notice. A letter is devoted to the French and English forts in Hudson Bay. There are letters on Detroit, Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, the Iroquois, Port Royal and Acadia, the Micmacs and the Gaspé Indians. The Eskimos are described at considerable length, six letters being devoted to them. Jolliet and Constantine had each visited them once for purposes of trade. No other Canadian had done so. The Lake Superior copper-mines were not worked at this time. "It is almost certain," the writer says, "that there are mines of copper on the shores

of this lake and in its islands." Pieces of the metal were found on the beaches. The Indians refused to impart their knowledge of these mines to the whites, under the belief that if they did so they should die during the year. Rattlesnakes were common enough in the west. The bite was dangerous, but the Indians cured it with herbs. It was claimed that rattlesnake oil cured every kind of pain, and was so penetrating that, when poured on the hand, it passed completely through.

The writer of the Letters describes the Canadian as proud, lively, hardy, industrious, inured to fatigue, and fond of travel and the woods (*courir les bois*). He has the independence and laziness of the Indian. The dearness of French goods, however, had partly cured him of the latter failing. "But could anything else be looked for from people sprung from lazy fathers and mothers? The soldiers have peopled this country with those girls, who, after living in disorder in France, have inspired in their children pride and indolence (*fainéantise*) instead of work." Thinking no doubt, that this was rather strong, the writer qualifies it by adding that whilst as a general statement it was correct, the Canadian was steadily improving. He was working and compelling his children to work. This was all the more strange, as Canadian fathers let their children do pretty much as they pleased, and the latter abandoned the paternal roof whenever they took a fancy to do so. With the improvement he had noticed, the final outcome, on the assumption that proper pains were taken to keep the Canadian and his children at work, would be that he would be left without a failing, except that he would still "run the woods" and he would be as proud as ever. The *habitant* was passionately fond of hunting; the writer has some sensible remarks on the necessity of encouraging him in this propensity, notwithstanding the opposition of the seigneurs. The settler, who was a good marksman, was the best defence against Indians and the English.

There is a full description of Quebec, its situation, its

government, its institutions, its public buildings. Montreal was surrounded with palisades. In every seigniority there was a fort to which the *habitants* might retire in time of war. Of cartographical interest is the statement that among the king's officials was "a master of hydrography who is obliged to keep a public school." The writer's etymologies are now obsolete. Quebec, he says, is derived from Queubec, the exclamation of the original Norman discoverers, on seeing the "beak" of Cape Diamond. Canada, he adds, is from the Spanish Capodynada (Cape of Nothing).

Silvy's Journal of his voyage to Hudson Bay is of interest in connection with the disputes between French and English fur-traders, attended from time to time by acts of war, although the mother countries were at peace. The Journal takes up 30 pages. Of these, 9 are merely a record of the sailing, the weather, etc. The remaining 21 are devoted to the disputes, in connection with which Ratisson (Radisson) comes in for some strong language. Silvy admits that the Bay Indians were more favourably disposed to the English than to the French. They were incorrigible beggars. The father took advantage of the opportunity to teach them the catechism. "They listened to me, and then laughed at it." "It is morally impossible", he says, "to make them Christians."

"They are always wandering from place to place. They stay at the trading-post as short a time as possible, and then are off again like birds of passage. The same is the case with the Assiniboines and Crees, who come down a distance of 15 to 20 days' journey. They are here to-day and away to-morrow. They come only to trade, and are incapable of religion, unless a settled mission is established for a long time in their village beyond the great lake of the Assiniboines, of which Port Nelson is said to be the outlet. There will be no progress made there."

According to the father himself, his advice was taken more than once as to the conduct to be observed in dealing with the English. He belonged to the church militant, in more senses than one, and his voice was still for war. By putting on a bold face, the French captured an English vessel, and took it as a prize to Quebec. Through the same strategy they escaped capture themselves by a stronger force, when their own ammunition was nearly exhausted.

The Eskimos wandered in their kayaks for long distances. Near the straits of Belle Isle the author saw some whom he had met the year before, 150 leagues up the Labrador coast. They were as fat as the seals on which they subsisted. Their eyes were sunken in their cheeks so as to be scarcely visible. The father gives a picture of alleged English duplicity and cruelty, which may or may not be overdrawn. The English told him that two frigates had come with express orders to destroy every Frenchman they caught in the Strait and Bay, without any regard to their commission. "So cruel and impious an order," says Silvy, "merits vengeance." It did not occur to him that his informant was drawing the long bow, to frighten the French intruders away.

The style of the Letters is succinct, and in general clear and satisfactory. They contain little information beyond that already published. But they furnish a convenient, and useful compendium of what was known in 1709-10 of New France, and especially of the aborigines of the northern part of the continent east of the Mississippi.

There is a table of contents, but no alphabetical index. In volume I. of this Review complaint was made of a similar omission from M. de Rochemonteix' work, "*Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle France au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*," a standard authority on the subject, in three large volumes. It should be made a penal offence to publish a historical work without such an index, which is really indispensable to its proper and satisfactory use.

JAMES H. COYNE.

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*Le Père Sebastien Rasles, Jésuite, Missionnaire chez les Abénaquis, 1657-1724.* Par N.-E. Dionne. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, Vol. ix, section 1, pp. 117-134.)

From the various spellings of the well-known missionary's name, Rasle Racles, and Rasles, Dr. Dionne, without giving

reasons, selects the last. The missionary appears to have written *Rale*, which is the form adopted by Parkman; Charlevoix and Rochemonteix use *Rasle*. We note also that Dr. Dionne calls the superior of the seminary of Montreal M. de Bellemont, whilst Rochemonteix uses the more familiar form Belmont.

The tragic circumstances of *Rale's* death in 1724 inevitably led to controversy as to his character and merits. On the one side he was regarded as a saint and martyr; on the other as the instigator of Indian raids with all their horrors. He was a Frenchman, a Roman Catholic and a priest. The colonists were English and Protestant. There was moreover a boundary dispute to embitter the relations between the Norridgewock missionary and the New Englanders. The correspondence between him and Vaudreuil shows that he was the governor's political agent, doing what he could to hold for the French the country of the Abenakis, who, as Rochemonteix says, constituted "the most powerful fortress of New France against New England."

The French side of the question is presented by Charlevoix, Rochemonteix and the documents now collected in volume 67 of the *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites' edition). The other side appears in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, series ii, vol. viii, in Francis' *Life of Rale*, Parkman's *A Half-Century of Conflict*, and James Phinney Baxter's *The Pioneers of New France in New England*. John Gilmary Shea, himself a Roman Catholic, admits that "it is not easy to form an opinion in *Rale's* case." He blames the French authorities for not withdrawing the Abenakis to the St. Lawrence.

Parkman, weighing contradictory statements, rejects those of Charlevoix on some disputed points. Baxter attacks the latter's testimony as made up of mere travellers' tales. Dr. Dionne defends the great Jesuit historian, by citing opinions of modern writers, such as Shea, C. W. Colby and Charles C. Smith, a passage from the dictionary of American Liter-

ature, and an alleged opinion of Gibbon, quoted by Shea. Mr. Smith refers to Charlevoix' "careful use" of his materials, and says "his statements have great weight." The other quotations however do not enter into the question of accuracy of statement. Dr. Dionne's conclusion is : "The authority of Charlevoix is undeniable, and the best proof we can furnish is the persistence with which every historian of Canada, and even the United States, cites him without contradicting him." This seems a strong statement in the face of Parkman's adverse judgment on questions of fact.

Dr. Dionne disposes very summarily of certain facts of Rale's career relied upon by Parkman. They are "merely legends and fables invented to meet the exigency of the case, with the object of depreciating and vilifying him." This source, he adds, is "too despicable for the veracious and impartial historian to meddle with." He charges Parkman with having not a word of eulogy for the edifying life of the missionary of the Abenakis. But in fact while Parkman is on the whole unfavourable to Rale, he is discriminating. He credits him with "the qualities and faults of a man—fearless, resolute, enduring.....sincere in opinions and genuine in zeal."....."There is reason to believe," he adds, "that he sometimes exercised a humanizing influence over his flock. The war which he helped to kindle was marked by fewer barbarities.....than either of the preceding wars. It is fair to assume that this was due in part to him.....It is also said that Rale taught some of his Indians to read and write." This is not extravagant praise, and it is accompanied by a caustic judgment upon his conduct in connection with the border troubles and Indian warfare, with all that the latter implied. Parkman appears to have examined carefully all the sources, not only those which now appear in Thwaites' monumental collection, but the English authorities as well. He gives reasons for preferring the latter, where they differ from the former. To Parkman dealing with fifty years of conflict for the possession of a continent, Rale's work was the

important fact. So far as his life affected the great struggle, it receives, upon the whole, fair treatment, both in praise and condemnation. Otherwise, however edifying it may have been, it was a subject for the biographer rather than the historian.

Dr. Dionne finds Rale not guilty of inciting the Indians to attack the English, destroy their farms and massacre their families. It is easy to arrive at a different conclusion, as Parkman did. But, while Rale was no doubt possessed of some admirable qualities, he cannot, in spite of Dr. Dionne, escape all responsibility. He was virtually the political agent of the governor of New France. The latter furnished the Indians with ammunition, and Rale has no word of condemnation for the atrocities they committed, which he recites rather complacently. The English settlers had no doubts on the subject. His own letters, as well as those of Vaudreuil, especially when read between the lines, show that, while courageously and deliberately risking his life, he was acting quite as much in the capacity of an ardent Frenchman as in that of a devoted missionary. In fighting English influence on the Kennebec, he believed he was doing the Church's work. But Indian warfare meant massacre and all kinds of horrors, and he was not unnaturally held responsible by the New Englanders. His death was one of many in a border war. The settlers no doubt rejoiced that now they would have peace, and so it resulted. New France and the Abenakis mourned his fate, and, dwelling upon his undoubted virtues, already canonized him in their hearts. Dr. Dionne quietly suggests that saint or no saint is a question for others than Protestant historians to decide.

Rale's private life may well have been all Dr. Dionne claims for him. He fell as a brave and resolute champion of his race, in a fierce national struggle for supremacy, when perhaps the rules of the game were not strictly observed on either side. Rale was acquainted with several Indian lan-

guages, and composed a dictionary of the Abenaki language, which was published in 1833.

JAMES H. COYNE.

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*Pathfinders of the West, being the thrilling story of the adventures of the men who discovered the great Northwest, Radisson, La Vérendrye, Lewis and Clark.* By A. C. Laut. Toronto : William Briggs, 1904. Pp. xxv, 380.  
*Découverte du Mississipi en 1659.* Par Benjamin Sulte. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 2d series, vol. ix, section i, pp. 3-44.)

Miss Laut's *Story of the Trapper*, of which a review appeared in our Volume 7, described the romance and adventure of the fur-trader's life. The *Pathfinders of the West* is a history. The author has gone to original sources—mainly to be found in printed volumes, but including unpublished documents. She has the historical imagination, the artistic genius, which transforms dry bones into living men. She has been fortunate in her heroes. All of them left written accounts of their travels. All of them had lived lives of adventure.

Marquette, Jolliet and La Salle find no place among Miss Laut's "pathfinders." In an aggressive Foreword she pronounces judgment against them. "History must be rewritten. Such is the fact *if we would have our history true.*" (The italics are her own.) Parkman had dealt unfairly by Radisson for he had awarded him a grudging footnote, a few lines of text. But history is hardly likely to be rewritten on so peremptory a notice. The Prince Society published Radisson's *Voyages* in 1885,—the English version. The Canadian Archives some years later published the French narrative of the last two voyages. Winsor, Parkman and others after reading the narrative announced that Radisson and Groseilliers in the years 1659-61 probably saw the Mississippi; there seems no reason to doubt the fact that they reached it in 1659.

In any case, it is of little consequence who first saw the North-west. The real discoverer is he who described his discov-



eries for the benefit of contemporaries. The discoverer of America is not Leif Ericson, but Christopher Columbus. It was Marquette and Jolliet and La Salle, who gave the Mississippi basin to civilization. They were the acknowledged first explorers. They were the first discoverers to communicate their discoveries to the world. Two centuries elapsed after Radisson wrote out or dictated his account before it was published. Moreover, the belated record is so confused and obscure, that identification is often quite uncertain. Details are wanting and there are no maps. His ignorance of geography, even of the great outlines, is manifest everywhere, especially in the earlier voyages. Moreover, when he wrote, the Mississippi was no longer a secret. Jolliet, Marquette and La Salle had learned a great deal about it. And yet Radisson, who had seen it in 1659, long before La Salle had launched his canoe on the Ohio, or Jolliet and Marquette had paddled down the Wisconsin, left so scanty and vague a description of the great river, that intelligent people—unreasonably, we may concede—still doubt his story. In any case, as Sulte points out, Radisson was more interested in the fur-trade than in discoveries, and readily abandoned the Mississippi valley for the north-land, which teemed with fur-bearing animals.

The *pièce de résistance* of the volume is the part relating to Radisson. Miss Laut's materials are Radisson's Journals, the records of the Hudson's Bay Company and the French Department of Marine and Colonies, and the researches of M. Sulte, Dr. George Bryce and others. Always she shows perhaps too aggressive an attitude in arguing with those who do not accept her conclusions. Her method is hardly discriminating enough; the weighing of evidence does not mean finding its *avoir-dupois*. The function of criticism is to separate, to compare and to judge, but with Miss Laut, whatever Radisson says, goes. In one passage she refers to "a presumption, that is almost comical, for any modern writer to condescend to say that he "accepts" or "rejects" this or that part of Radisson's record. If he "rejects" Ra-

disson, he also rejects the Marine Archives of Paris, and the Jesuit Relations, which are the recognized sources of our early history." It may be presumed that Miss Laut will (some day) see reason to vary her judgment on these points. There are many things in the Marine Archives which are not true, some which are deliberate falsifications. The Jesuit Relations, too, must be used with some discrimination. And yet both are mines of trustworthy historical material.

The untrustworthiness of memory unconfirmed by documents is well shown in Radisson's case. He descended the Ottawa shortly after the famous resistance of Dollard and his comrades to the Iroquois, and reports what he saw. But he places the incident in 1664, instead of in 1660, the correct year. One is constrained to ask how many other mistakes did he make? On the other hand his discovery of the Mississippi in 1659 is confirmed by a contemporary reference to the fact in the Relations. Vague and confused as Radisson often is, the intrinsic and extrinsic evidence is favourable to his general trustworthiness.

The portrait on page 83 is stated to be that of Marquette. Its authenticity has yet to be shown satisfactorily, and it would have been better to qualify the title as the "alleged" or "supposed" portrait. Radisson has been generally described as a Protestant. Miss Laut, in a note on page 41, infers that he was a Roman Catholic, upon the ground that he confessed his sins to the Jesuit Father Poncet at Orange. Father Poncet himself is the authority for the alleged confession. Certainly it is not Radisson. In his own account (Radisson's Voyages, Prince Society, page 85), all he says about Poncet is that "A Minister that was a Jesuit gave me great offer," meaning that he borrowed money from the Father, which was afterwards returned. Taking both statements as true, one is constrained to ask whether the loan may not explain the confession. Radisson was fertile in expedients. M. Sulte, however, is strongly of opinion that he was a Catholic.

In her account of the Third Voyage, referring to the doubt whether Radisson went to Lake Nipissing and Georgian Bay by way of the Ottawa or the St. Lawrence, Miss Laut cites Sulte to prove the statement that it must have been by the Ottawa, "as the St. Lawrence route was not used till 1702." The last statement should be strongly qualified. Galinée's map of 1670, shows that Péré had portaged from Lake Ontario to Lake Simcoe in 1669. La Salle used the St. Lawrence route repeatedly, and the portage from Toronto to Georgian Bay was well known before the close of the 17th century.

Among other minor inaccuracies, the statement that Champlain had made the circuit of the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, and the Great Lakes, is misleading. McMullen, it is true, credits him with a visit to Lake St. Clair, but there is not a particle of authority for the statement. Champlain accounts for his time during 1615-16, the only occasion on which he was anywhere near the Lakes. He distinctly says that he did not visit the country of the Neutrals, which extended from the Detroit river to the Niagara river and beyond, and gives his reasons. The dotted line from Detroit towards the south, in his map of 1632, has been interpreted as a proof that Brulé had taken that route to the Carantouanais in 1615. But the lakes are so extraordinarily misrepresented on that map, that it is quite evident they were given from oral information and rough sketches of Indians and traders, and not from Champlain's own knowledge, except as to the east end of Lake Ontario and the south part of the Georgian Bay.

In connection with the Fourth Voyage, Miss Laut says "J. Edmond Roy and Mr. Sulte both pronounce Bourdon a myth, and his trip a falsification." His trip was certainly a falsification, as M. Roy has conclusively shown, but Bourdon was anything but a myth. He probably had nothing to do with the forged document attributed to him. The Abbé Gosselin, in his interesting study reviewed elsewhere (*supra*

p. 25), shows him to be a high-minded man, who filled positions of honour and responsibility with great credit.

The journeys of La Vérendrye, Hearne, Mackenzie and Lewis and Clark are included in Miss Laut's book, but Radisson is the hero. There is an Appendix of documents from the Archives of the Marine and Colonies at Paris, translated by Mr. R. Roy. The index is good, although we have noted omissions. Upon the whole, Miss Laut has done her work well, and the result is a most interesting volume.

M. Sulte's paper is a laborious and valuable monograph upon the discovery of the Great River. With his well-known minute and painstaking industry, he has reproduced from the Jesuit Relations and Journal, Radisson's narratives, and other original sources, substantially all that is to be found referring to the upper Mississippi, prior to its discovery by Radisson in 1659. Some difficulties in Radisson's story are cleared away by the suggestion that sheets of the MS. have been misplaced. Rearranging the material, he makes the narrative coherent and chronological as to the portion in question. Miss Laut, whose book is dedicated to M. Sulte, has profited by his paper, and accepts his authority on controversial points as well as on the main fact. The interesting questions of Radisson's travels west of the Mississippi toward the Rockies, and north of its sources toward Hudson Bay, had not come within the purview of M. Sulte's paper. They receive adequate treatment from Miss Laut, who deals with them in a vigorous and interesting fashion, with abundant illustrative material from the accumulated stores of her previous literary ventures, which were evidently an excellent preparation for this her most ambitious undertaking.

JAMES H. COYNE.

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*The Death of Dulhut.* By William McLennan. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, vol. ix, section ii, pp. 39-47.)

We are reminded of the serious loss Canadian literature has sustained in the recent death of Mr. McLennan. The

paper under review is a good specimen of his terse, racy, and graphic style. The prelude contrasts vividly in a few paragraphs the New France of Frontenac's time with the English colonies; the former in control of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys, the latter confined to a narrow strip down the Atlantic coast, east of the Alleghanies, between French Canada on the north and Florida on the south. France's policy was to control and regulate her colonists not only in every detail of internal government, but even in their business and everyday life. England left hers largely to themselves. "Her bantlings paddled about in water, hot or cold, as they found it."

Frontenac had not more than 150 Frenchmen from Detroit to the present New Orleans to hold this enormous area for his king. They were simply, as Mr. McLennan truly remarks, "so many representatives of the pomp and power of Old France; his reliance was on the friendly Indian tribes, who occupied this long stretch of border territory." To keep them friendly, she had her explorers, fur-traders and even *coureurs de bois*. Of the last-named class, many "lived the lives of outlaws, with a price upon their heads, and too many were merely wandering vagabonds, far below the Indian in every decency of life and honour." Duchesneau, the intendant, tried to fasten the name upon Daniel de Greysolon, Sieur Dulhut, "a man of the highest honour and unblemished life." Mr. McLennan cites facts showing the gentle birth of Dulhut, and ranks him among the great explorers. Of course he was a fur-trader, like everybody else in Canada at the time, from the governor and clergy downwards. A curious circumstance is noted by the writer, the presence of Hennepin and Dulhut at the battle of Seneff. It is improbable that they met then, but years afterward they met on the upper waters of the Mississippi under circumstances of great peril to the Recollet priest.

Dulhut was a cousin of the Tontis. He was possessed of ample means. He and his brother had perhaps the best

house in Montreal, but they could not resist the calling of the west. In 1678 they sold out and started for the *pays d'en haut*. He never married. As in the somewhat similar case of Colonel Talbot, a disappointment in love is suggested as the explanation of his abandonment of civilization. Thereafter for nearly 30 years, he was exploring, trading and serving his government. "He built the first post at Detroit, another at Kaministiquia (the present Fort William) on Lake Superior, another, Fort la Tourette, on Lake Nipigon." His conduct in the capture and execution of the Indian murderers of two Frenchmen in 1684, in spite of the threats and blandishments of a hostile tribe, proves his resolute courage and determination of purpose. Thereafter his prestige was firmly established among the Lake Superior natives. British Columbia annals have a very similar story about Sir James Douglas and an Indian murderer.

The writer claims Dulhut as the earliest explorer of the North-west. The North-west is a term that seems to call for definition, but in any case M. Benjamin Sulte and Miss Agnes C. Laut will, we suppose, hardly acknowledge the claim. Brulé appears to have been at the Sault Ste. Marie in 1622, Nicolet at Green Bay in 1634, and Radisson and Groseilliers at the Mississippi and beyond, if not perhaps in 1654, at least between 1659 and 1661. The explorations of Perrot, La Salle, Jolliet and the Jesuits, in addition to those named, would seem to limit considerably the area of that part of the North-west reserved for Dulhut.

The paper is an amplification of one published in *Harper's Magazine* in September, 1893. An important additional feature is the fact recently ascertained that Dulhut died in Montreal. His will, made in 1709, and a codicil in 1710, afford interesting reading. He died in the night of the 25th-26th February, 1710. The inventory of his effects includes his diaries for 1676-1677-1678, and others undated. These diaries are not known to be in existence. The details of the inventory throw light upon his social rank. The sites of his

Montreal residences are identified through Mr. McLennan's research and local knowledge.

From the few facts known, and Vaudreuil's statement that "he was a very honest man," Mr. McLennan forms a high estimate of Dulhut's capacity, determination, fidelity and modesty, and his patience under constant disappointment and physical suffering.

JAMES H. COYNE. .

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In a paper communicated to the Royal Society of Canada Mr. L. J. Burpee\* has collected and translated into English the various documents which throw light on the massacre of the young La Vérendrye and his companions in 1736 on an island in Lake of the Woods. There is no mystery as to the facts, but the motives which actuated the Indians in the commission of their crime are not very clear. Various reasons are assigned in the documents, but though not inconsistent they are probably not all true. It is a pity that Mr. Burpee did not give the French text as well as a translation of the documents quoted.

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Dr. Dionne in his preface to his hagiography† explains that he has selected from the number of Canadian saints only those best known, and among the latter "les héros de notre primitive Église, dont les procès de béatification sont aujourd'hui en instance à la cour de Rome." He has included ten representative Indian converts, having regard in the selection to the various tribes. The learned author disclaims any intention of anticipating the judgments of his Church with reference to the canonization of his forty candidates. The list begins with Jacques Cartier and Champlain. It includes

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\* *The Lake of the Woods Tragedy*. By Lawrence J. Burpee. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, vol. ix, section ii, pp. 15-29.)

† *Serviteurs et Servantes de Dieu en Canada, Quarante Biographies*. Par N.-E. Dionne. Québec, 1904. Pp. xvi, 318.

eight Jesuits, one Recollet, fifteen women distinguished among the founders or heads of charitable institutions, Maisonneuve, Laval, and one or two others.

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*La Guerre de Sept Ans. Histoire Diplomatique et Militaire.*  
Par Richard Waddington. Tome III. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie., 1904. Pp. 540.

So far as Canada is concerned M. Waddington has now passed the central point of his work, for in the third volume he covers the campaign of 1759. Here, as in the preceding volumes, the American portion of the great war must be held to receive its fair share of attention, when we consider the nature of the author's aim. M. Waddington is most at home when describing a complicated diplomatic situation, and though, in his own words, he writes "a diplomatic and military history," the larger, more original element is represented by his sketch of international negotiations. Kaunitz, Bernis and Choiseul are the figures with whom, we imagine, his name will be lastingly connected, rather than Frederick, Daun and Montcalm. On the whole it is fortunate that this should be the case, since the annals of diplomacy are more difficult and less explored than those of war.

We make this preliminary observation, not because one can quarrel with the main conception of M. Waddington's *opus*, but because the chapters on Canada in all three volumes are conditioned by an important fact. In the perspective of the work the situation as it develops is scanned from the European standpoint and chiefly from that of *haute politique*. The contest of England and France for colonial supremacy is sketched with a firm hand and with an excellent sense of proportion, but Minden, Kunersdorf and the despatches of Montazet are the things for which M. Waddington really cares. As an example of the relatively superficial account of the operations before Quebec, the text shows no sign of familiarity with Doughty, while the notice of Amherst's operations about Lake Champlain is hardly more than perfunctory.



The value of M. Waddington's chapter on the duel between Wolfe and Montcalm—and it is a chapter which has distinct value—is traceable to the presence of a keen critical faculty rather than to pure erudition. The essential features of the campaign are well grasped and skilfully delineated, but most of all M. Waddington knows what to omit. He does not permit himself to be side-tracked into a debate over the relations of Montcalm and Vaudreuil or those of Wolfe and the Brigadiers. Clearness of narrative is what he aims at rather than the defence of controversial positions, and he is not led aside from his central purpose even by a quotation from Wolfe's last letter to Monckton. Fortunately, there is more than one way of getting at information, and if M. Waddington has not heard of Doughty he has discovered this document among the *Newcastle Papers*.

Such comments on the campaign of 1759 as M. Waddington gives are crowded into less than three pages at the close of a chapter which occupies more than a fifth of a long volume. Regarding Wolfe and Montcalm themselves, there is not much to say which is new, but the criticisms that are passed on Montcalm's subordinates will be found full of interest.

"Que dire des acteurs secondaires du drame ? A l'exception du brave Lévis, qui se révéla homme d'énergie et de caractère, tous furent piteusement au-dessous de leur tâche : Vaudreuil, Ramezai, la plupart des officiers supérieurs s'abandonnèrent à un découragement qui dégénéra en pusillanimité morale frisant la lâcheté ; chez eux, à peine une lueur de bon sens bien vite effacée par l'exagération du danger qu'engendre l'hésitation ; pas une conception virile, aucun sentiment du devoir de tout sacrifier à la défense du dépôt que la France leur avait confié."

Here M. Waddington is but emphasizing the view which is held everywhere abroad when he indicates that Vaudreuil's reputation for honour and straightforwardness has been irretrievably lost. It will hardly be the task of any one in the next generation to rehabilitate the memory of a governor "qui dégénéra en pusillanimité frisant la lâcheté." What M. Waddington, in his chapter on India, has to say concerning Lally is severe but far less severe than this biting allusion to Vaudreuil.

*The Fight for Canada, a Naval and Military Sketch from the History of the Great Imperial War.* By William Wood. Westminster : Archibald Constable & Co., 1904. Pp. xxi, 363.

Another account of Wolfe's famous victory on the Plains of Abraham seems unnecessary, but Major Wood has looked at it from a fresh standpoint and quite justified the existence of his book. Parkman's careful yet eloquent narrative of those early days in September, 1759, forms a true climax to the story of the rivalry of the French and English for the possession of North America, which he has traced through so many volumes. And in doing so, he follows in the steps of Lord Mahon, Warburton and the earlier historians of this period. In spite of Parkman's warning that he was dealing only with the American side of the great Seven Years' War, his readers continue to think that his is the whole story and to look upon the war as purely American or Canadian. Major Wood has adopted a new point of view and treats the final results as the outcome of an expedition for this definite purpose, despatched from England in consequence of the superior naval power which gave the English command of the high seas and enabled them to add a large body of Marines to the assailants of Quebec. The author sets forth at the outset his reasons for publication.

"But the historian of the expedition itself must look at it from quite a different standpoint. He must, of course, give a full account of his own surroundings. But, at the same time, he must never forget where the true centre of power lies, nor what are his relations to it. And he must constantly bear in mind that the attack by the St. Lawrence was an integral part of a world-wide scheme of naval strategy : and that Wolfe's army was simply a landing party on a large scale. The point of the argument is, however, that this great fight for the dominion of the West has never been consistently described as a combined naval and military occupation in which the fleet and the army were so much the necessary complements of each other on all occasions that they perfectly realized the ideal of a single united service throughout the whole expedition, and this being so, it seems that any honest attempt to redress the balance, and to do justice to the great silent service of the sea, would alone vindicate the book that made it."

The author prepares the way for the detailed account of the last struggle by a brief summary of the Seven Years' War and of the conditions which prevailed on the American con-

minent, emphasizing the value of Schuyler's proposals for a speedy termination of French influence as set forth in the "Glorious Enterprise." Next follow lengthy accounts of the leaders on each side. Naturally more space is devoted to Montcalm and Wolfe than to the others, and the early history of both is treated in a fair and sympathetic manner. Commodore Anson as first Lord of the Admiralty, under whose direction the expedition was fitted out, and Admiral Saunders, to whom it was entrusted, are brought forward more prominently than is usual in histories of the siege and to them is ascribed a large share of the success. Both Vaudreuil and Bigot are accused of the worst crimes against their country ; however much the weakness of the former may be accepted as an apology, none will dispute the rascality of the latter. Major Wood has had the advantage of Dr. Doughty's labours, especially in his "Siege of Quebec," and the opportunity has enabled him to enter into the details of the engagements more minutely than has hitherto been attempted. He has in addition his training as a military man, and local knowledge arising from a residence adjacent to the battlefield, so that the result is as accurate an account of the daily proceedings as we are ever likely to obtain.

The whole theatre of operations was on so bold a scale that time and man have done little to change it, while the slow growth of the city has left the walls and more prominent buildings comparatively unaltered, thus greatly facilitating the labours of the historian in his identifications. Wolfe receives the fullest credit for the plan of operations, and the author quotes the letter addressed by the Brigadiers to the Commander-in-chief on the eve of the battle as positive evidence of their ignorance of the place of landing, though they were aware that his view coincided with their own for a movement above the city. In pursuance of his guiding principle the author points out that the Navy, including the Mercantile Marine, numbered 18,000 men while Wolfe's force numbered 9,000. His steel edge to the iron axe united sharpness and temper with weight.

In answer to the criticisms of those who maintain that Montcalm should have withdrawn within the walls and awaited the departure of the fleet, Major Wood points out the overwhelming force which, once the heights had been gained, could have been brought against the city by the union of the two services. So true is he to his principles that he recognizes that Canada was finally won not on the St. Lawrence but on the shores of France.

"For the Great Imperial War itself was one long and universal struggle for oceanic power ; the fortunes of the fight for dominion in America depended, at every turn, upon the uses of a world-wide naval strategy ; and it was Hawke's crowning victory in the Bay of Quiberon which at last gave England her clear, unchallengeable title to the claim that Canada henceforth belonged entirely to the overlordship of the sea."

In a note the author is disposed to question the authenticity of the story about Wolfe's recital of Gray's Elegy while he floated down the river. This has given rise to a discussion in the *Athenaeum* and elsewhere in which the evidence for its correctness seems to be conclusive, but fixes the period at an earlier portion of the twenty-four hours preceding the fight.

The bibliography is condensed from Dr. Doughty's "Siege of Quebec" and is somewhat confusing, but as the ordinary reader is likely in most cases to confine himself to well known authorities it will be of some assistance. By Dr. Doughty's permission the map prepared by Wolfe's engineers, which was first reproduced in the "Siege of Quebec," is added for convenience in following the progress of the attack. The book as a whole is a very creditable addition to the gradually increasing number of good books on Canadian history.

An elaborate criticism of Dr. Doughty's "Siege of Quebec" with reference to the position of the contending armies on the Plains of Abraham and to the question whether the race-course forms part or not of the battle-field is contributed by Mr. P. B. Casgrain to the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada.\*

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\* A few remarks on "The Siege of Quebec" and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, by A. Doughty, in collaboration with E. W. Parmelee ; and on the Probable Site of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, by A. Doughty. By P. B. Casgrain. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Second Series, volume ix, section ii, pp. 101-134.)

*Sir Frederick Haldimand.* By Jean N. McIlwraith.  
Toronto : Morang and Co., Limited, 1904. Pp. 356.  
(The Makers of Canada.)

The early history of British rule in Canada is chiefly associated with three names—General Murray, General Carleton, and General Haldimand. These three men ruled Canada for nearly the whole of the last forty years of the 18th century. That they were all military officers is itself a revelation of the character of the government. Canada was a conquered country and was held by the strong hand of the soldier. Yet the new rule was mild, and two of these officers, Murray and Carleton, are still held in grateful remembrance by the conquered French; for this depressed people they showed consideration almost to the point of injustice to their fellow-countrymen in Canada, whom they rather despised. Of the three, Haldimand alone was regarded by the French as an oppressor, and the explanation of this feeling is readily found in the dates of his period of rule. He governed Canada from 1778 to 1784, the period of the American Revolution, when France was seeking to stir the French-Canadians to revolt against Great Britain. In this era of war Haldimand treated the French-Canadians as suspects; with some justice, for there is little doubt that, apart from the priests and the *noblesse*, the conquered people wished to see the British rule overthrown. Obviously, therefore, Haldimand must not be judged by the standards of a time of peace. Though a stern officer, he was a humane man, but undoubtedly he violated the civil law by keeping persons in prison without trial, and the Nemesis of this perhaps statesmanlike severity haunts his memory to this day.

Miss McIlwraith's sumptuously printed *Life of Haldimand* is the first attempt to give an adequate estimate of the man. Though in the popular conception little is known about the period, in fact there is an embarrassing wealth of material. At Ottawa there are more than two hundred volumes of documents relating to Haldimand's career. Miss McIlwraith

does not claim to have read them through, but she has used Dr. Brymner's carefully prepared Calendars. She has also consulted contemporary memoirs ; she has mastered the secondary material in the histories of Canada ; and in fact has acquired the necessary qualifications to write an adequate life. To her industry she brings an admirable gift of style ; she has an eye for something more than the political aspects of history ; her sketches of manners are vivid, and her delineation of character is just. We have noticed an occasional minor error, such as the use of the term "Lord Germaine," for Lord George Germain, but Miss Millwraith is accurate, and in regard to substance as well as style, her work is entitled to rank as first-rate. We should like to see Murray's and Carleton's careers given equally adequate treatment.

Haldimand was a Swiss who followed his countrymen's immemorial practice of serving in the armies of other states. The common belief that he began his career in the Prussian army has not been confirmed, but he was in the Dutch service, and in 1754, when war between Great Britain and France was imminent, he was offered a commission in the British army serving in America. He distinguished himself in America during the Seven Years' War, and was with Amherst, of whom he never thought highly, when Montreal was occupied. He was one of the leaders in enforcing Amherst's somewhat stern policy against the conquered French, and remained in Canada, chiefly as Governor at Three Rivers, until 1765. In 1778 he returned to Quebec to succeed Carleton as Governor. The American invasion of Canada had already been repelled ; but final defeat of the revolutionary forces was not yet certain, and Haldimand had a difficult task.

There is no wonder that he was suspicious of the French-Canadians. In marching upon Quebec, Benedict Arnold had found that, as long as he had any prospect of success, he could rely upon the sympathy of most of the *habitants* ; with some of the French-Canadian leaders, too, Arnold was in frequent communication. Haldimand himself was convinced, and

frequently says, that the professed devotion of the French to Great Britain was hollow. He has put on record his own principles of conduct (pp. 179-80), and they are those of a strong, but mild and just man. Of Canada as a promising British possession he did not think highly, but he was resolved that it should not join the American revolt, and to him and Carleton is really due the permanence of the country's allegiance to Great Britain. Under the circumstances his conduct was not unduly arbitrary. The French-Canadians had been supplying the Americans with food products, and notices promising the French that France, allied with the revolted colonies, was about to overthrow the British power were, somehow, posted on the church doors throughout the country. Moreover, Washington's treatment of the Loyalists was stern ; on one occasion he hanged a considerable number of Tory prisoners. Compared with his opponents Haldimand was extremely moderate ; no political offender suffered death under his rule. But he threw suspects into prison and kept them there, and he forced the French-Canadians to render the *corvée* duties under which they had long chafed. They had to improve roads, to protect the fisheries on the sea-coast, to transport provisions to the interior, and even to build houses for loyalist settlers driven from the United States. For the *corvée* at least he had the sanction of law, for the rest of his conduct, that of expediency, and we agree with Miss McIlwraith that the time has come to regard him rather as a constructive statesman than as a lawless tyrant.

Little space remains to discuss the minor features of her work. She describes the state of religion, of education, of respect for law in the country. Some interesting figures flit across her pages, as for instance young Horatio Nelson, madly in love with a Quebec maiden, and ready for her sake to abandon the naval service. After his retirement in 1784, Haldimand lived chiefly in London, where he was received with favour by King George III. We get frequent glimpses of the veteran moving in the best society of the time, but

never quite an Englishman, for he spoke the language with a foreign accent. Probably his heart was always in his native Switzerland, and there he died in 1791.

The trails and military routes described by Mr. Archer Hulbert in the eighth volume of *Historic Highways*\* are those followed by Colonel George Rogers Clark in his much over-rated expeditions against Kaskaskia and Vincennes in 1778 and 1779, and those pursued by the troops of the United States in the campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne against the confederacy of western Indians, very inaccurately designated as the conquest of the Old Northwest. It is illustrated by an excellent map of a portion of the State of Illinois, showing Clark's route, and by reproductions of Hutchin's sketch of the Wabash of 1768, part of Arrowsmith's map of 1796, and Dr. Belknap's contemporary map of General Wayne's campaign. Clark's very unreliable printed "Journal" has been compared with the original preserved in the Draper collection of manuscripts in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, with evident advantage, and some use has been made of the narratives of Thomas Irwin and Hugh Scott in the same collection. The statements that "Harmar's repeated though costly operations had given the Indians all the battle they wished," and that "the Indian loss was as large as the American," are simply absurd (pp. 106-7). Still more amazing is the remark that General Butler was left to his fate in St. Clair's defeat, "propped up on a mattress, a loaded revolver placed in each hand" (p. 158). We are gravely informed that Wayne was known among the Indians as the Whirlwind, because "when in motion he swept through the forests like a cyclone." As Wayne's army seldom advanced more than four or five miles in a day's march, invariably halting early in the afternoon to fortify its camp, this story

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\* *Historic Highways of America*. Volume 8 : *Military Roads of the Mississippi Basin*. Volume 9 : *The Conquest of the Old Northwest*. Volume 10 : *Waterways of Western Expansion*. *The Ohio River and its Tributaries*. By Archer Butler Hulbert. Cleveland : The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904. Pp. 237 ; 220.



scarcely seems plausible. "Kirtland" (p. 163) is undoubtedly a misprint for Kirkland, and Prideaux Selby, afterwards Receiver General of Upper Canada, figures as "Lieutenant Silvy of the Fifth Regiment" (p. 191). Volume 9 contains a rather meagre account of Céleron de Bienville's expedition to the Ohio and reproductions of Bonnecamp's (1749), Captain Harry Gordon's (1766), and Rufus Putnam's (1804) maps of that river and the adjacent country.

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*History of George Rogers Clark's Conquest of the Illinois and the Wabash Towns in 1778 and 1779.* By Consul Wilshire Butterfield. Published under the auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. Columbus, 1904. Pp. xxii, 816.

The appearance of this volume, Mr. Butterfield's last and most ambitious work, was delayed during the lifetime of the author because of the publication of William H. English's monograph on the same subject in 1896, and we are informed that the author continued working at it almost until the time of his death, five years ago. Of late years Clark's campaigns have become a favourite topic in the United States, and Mr. Butterfield has had little difficulty in showing that many absurd fables and vague traditions respecting them have been gravely accepted and repeated as facts by recent writers. Undoubtedly he might have gone further in this direction had he been disposed. Clark has been formally proclaimed a typical western hero, and like Daniel Boone and David Crockett, has become the subject of much stilted rhetoric and extravagant eulogy. The thoroughly untrustworthy character of Clark's own "Memoir," written late in life, which laid the foundation of this fabric of misrepresentation and exaggeration, has been repeatedly admitted by President Roosevelt in his "Winning of the West."

"When Clark wrote his memoirs in his old age," he remarks, "he took delight in writing down among his exploits all sorts of childish stratagems; the marvel is that any sane historian should not have seen that these were on their face as untrue as they were ridiculous." (Vol. ii, p. 63, note.)

Yet Mr. Butterfield proves conclusively that Mr. Roose-

velt himself has not only accepted some of Clark's untruthful statements without due examination, but that he has embellished one of them, transmitted through another channel it is true, with certain rhetorical "twists" of his own by which a door is converted into "a postern gate," lights become "torches," French inhabitants become "mirth-loving creoles," and a primitive ball-room is transformed into "a great hall where the revel was held" (pp. 608-10).

In Mr. Butterfield's own narrative use has been made for the first time of the numerous and important official letters and documents in the Haldimand collection at Ottawa and in the Colonial Office respecting these events. These papers are practically published by him in full, without alteration, and he has apparently consulted every accessible printed authority. His work is accordingly far more complete and weighty than any that has preceded it. It is shown that while Clark was undeniably a brave and enterprising leader of what would have been termed a band of guerillas in the American Civil War, he fell far short of being the ideal hero of popular legend. Mr. Butterfield, however, is not wholly free from bias. While he denounces Lieut.-Governor Hamilton for "letting loose the horrible hell-hounds of savage war upon the exposed frontier," he has not a word of condemnation for Clark's brutal treatment of Philippe de Rocheblave, the unfortunate commandant of Kaskaskia, the cold-blooded and savage butchery of Indian prisoners at Vincennes, or the subsequent deliberate and discreditable breach of the terms of capitulation by the Executive Government of Virginia. A formidable array of notes, which occupy more than a third of the book, evince exhaustive research, and are extremely instructive. It is much to be regretted that numerous misprints indicate very careless proofreading.

E. CRUIKSHANK.

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We have to notice here a series of reprints of "Narratives of Captivities" among the Indians. Some of the unfortunates,

whose experiences (when they survived) were originally given to the world by themselves or by some intimate associate, were taken captive during the struggle between French and English colonists for supremacy in North America, others during the American Revolutionary War. In both contests Indian tribes were auxiliaries on one side or the other, and made raids upon unsuspecting settlements, burning and devastating homesteads and farms, and killing or taking prisoner the inhabitants. Often the prisoners were adopted by their Indian captors and remained with the tribe, under surveillance no doubt, but apparently free. This was the fate of Robert Eastburn,\* a fur-trader from Philadelphia who was captured in 1756 while taking part in the border warfare south of Lake Ontario. His captors were a mingled body of French and Indians by whom he was brought to Montreal. He was adopted into an Indian family living at what is now Ogdensburg ; but after a short stay with them, he was suffered to return to Montreal and thence made his way to Quebec where he obtained his freedom. A captivity of a later date is that of the Gilbert family,† dragged from their peaceful village in Pennsylvania by Indians and brought under circumstances of great hardship to Fort Niagara. They were kindly received by the British officers in command and many of them were sent with other prisoners to Montreal by water. Here employment was found for them and they lived in the town like prisoners on parole. Some of the family however were not ransomed from the Indians by the officers but continued to live among the savages as adopted members of the tribe, and the details of their experiences among their capricious fellow-tribesmen are sometimes amusing, sometimes harrowing. The

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\* *The Dangers and Sufferings of Robert Eastburn, and his deliverance from Indian captivity.* Reprinted from the original edition of 1758, with introduction and notes by John R. Spears. Cleveland : The Burrows Brothers Company, 1904. Pp. 76. (Narratives of Captivities.)

† *The Captivity and Sufferings of Benjamin Gilbert and his family, 1780-83.* Reprinted from the original edition of 1784, with introduction and notes by Frank H. Severance. Cleveland : The Burrows Brothers Company, 1904. Pp. 204. (Narratives of Captivities.)

editing is carefully done, but we must protest against such slavish and unmeaning fidelity to the original publications as the employment of the long "s", which happened to be the fashion in typography when these narratives were first printed. If an exact reproduction of the original page is of importance, nothing but photography will serve ; half measures such as this are mere affectations of exact scholarship.

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*The War of 1812.* By Captain A. T. Mahan, U.S.N. (Scribner's Magazine, vol. xxxv, pp. 19-32, 190-203, 333-351, 459-474, 591-608, 713-727, vol. xxxvi, pp. 98-111, 363-379, 485-497, 601-613.)

Captain A. T. Mahan's able series of papers contributed during the last year to *Scribner's Magazine* fully sustains his reputation as a candid, thoughtful and painstaking writer. Dominated throughout by the same central idea as his former works, the illustration of the influence of sea-power upon military operations, they contain no special pleading of any kind, no attempt to flatter national vanity. The prolonged and irritating diplomatic wrangles (extending through a period of twenty years) over the burning questions of "neutral rights" and the "impressment of seamen", which eventually brought on the war, are invariably discussed with candour, moderation and good taste.

In the author's opinion it is not only foolish but absolutely criminal for a nation to attempt to make war without being adequately prepared in advance to carry it to a successful issue. This, he declares, the United States undertook to do, and it is this lack of preparation and consequent lack of efficiency that he continually derides. In this particular instance, however, the British provinces and British commerce were perhaps less well prepared to meet an attack than the United States were prepared to deliver one.

Naturally enough he gives much space to the naval events of the contest and contents himself with a bare outline of the uniformly unsuccessful invasions of Canada. One reason

frankly assigned for this neglect of the land operations is "the amazing incompetency of most of the army leaders on both sides after the fall of the British general, Brock." This incompetency he considers, placed the American movements in 1812 and 1813 "almost beneath criticism," yet the paramount importance of these campaigns is fully admitted and the policy by which they were dictated as freely defended.

"War once determined must be waged on the principles of war, and whatever greed of annexation may have entered into the motives of the administration of the day, there can be no question that politically and as a war measure the invasion of Canada was not only justified but imperative."

He further acknowledges that the successes of American ships of war upon the high seas, and he might have added upon the lakes as well,

"had no effect upon the issue except so far as they inspired moral enthusiasm and confidence. Still more in the sequel they have had a distinctly injurious effect upon national opinion in the United States. In the brilliant exhibition of enterprise, professional skill, and usual success by its naval officers and seamen, the country has forgotten the precedent neglect of several administrations to constitute the navy as strong in proportion to the means of the country as it was excellent through the spirit and acquirements of its officers and seamen" (p. 194).

Striking and complete as the American victories upon lakes Erie and Champlain undeniably were, they had no appreciable result. The mastery of Ontario was the key to the military situation in Upper Canada and this Sir James Yeo managed to gain or at least to dispute at all critical moments, and at the close of the last campaign he "was moving irresistible back and forth over its waters with his flag flying in a ship of 102 guns built at Kingston."

The overwhelming superiority of the British navy on the Atlantic enabled it not only to keep the way open for the passage of troops and supplies to Canada but to maintain a military and eventually an effective commercial blockade of the whole Atlantic coast of the United States. Sea-going commerce and the scarcely less important coast-wise traffic of the country were alike almost annihilated by these vigilant cruisers. "I believe," wrote the editor of *Niles's Register*, a warm advocate of the war, in December, 1814, "that there has not been an arrival in Baltimore from a foreign port for

a twelvemonth." The efficacy of the blockade was not only shown by idle shipping and general stagnation of trade but by the extravagant prices of all foreign commodities. The Southern and Northern States were no longer able to exchange their natural products except by sending them hundreds of miles by waggon at great expense and loss of time. In the midst of hostilities Halifax and Montreal became the channels through which much of the foreign trade of the United States was conducted. The former port prospered exceedingly."

"The effects of the war on it," says Captain Mahan, "were very marked. Trade was active. Prices rose. Provisions were in great demand, to the profit of agriculture and fisheries. Rents doubled and trebled. The frequent arrival of prizes and ships of war, going and coming, added to the transactions and made money plentiful."

The British army in Canada was largely supplied with provisions smuggled from New York and Vermont, and huge rafts of timber for the navy were obtained from the same source.

The problems connected with the movement, subsistence and supply of troops are duly considered and the difficulties attending the defence of the British provinces by no means ignored. The struggle for the control of the lakes is described with conspicuous accuracy and fairness. In this connection considerable use has been made of unpublished official correspondence which was either not accessible to or has been neglected by former writers. The author's comments on the principal actions are singularly illuminative. The merits and defects of the commanders on both sides are dispassionately criticized. Hearty and unstinted credit is awarded to such deserving British officers as Brock, Broke, Barclay, Harvey, and Yeo as well as to Lawrence, Perry, Macdonough and other Americans.

The chapter dealing with American privateers is somewhat disproportionately diffuse, and exaggerated contemporary accounts of their successes seem to have been accepted without critical examination. The only real blemishes are a misprint in the description of the attack upon Sackett's Har-

bour and a misplaced sentence in the narrative of the action on Lake Ontario of 28th September, 1813, sometimes called the "Burlington Races," which will probably be corrected before these papers appear in book form. The illustrations, however, are decidedly out of keeping with the text.

E. CRUIKSHANK.

Mr. Elson's *History of the United States*\* aims at occupying the middle ground between the school book and the elaborate history. To style he has given special attention, and the result, while not brilliant, is satisfactory; the book is readable. The most important respect in which it touches Canada is in the account of the war of 1812. Mr. Elson describes the burning of Washington.

"It is said that Cockburn, followed by a rabble, entered the hall of the House of Representatives, climbed into the speaker's chair, and put the question, "Shall this harbour of Yankee democracy be burned?" The vote in the affirmative was unanimous, and the torch was applied. The White House was next set on fire, as was also the Navy Yard (by order of the Secretary of the Navy, Jones), and the triple conflagrations lit up the whole surrounding country. All the other government buildings, except the Patent Office, were given to the flames; after which the invading army hastened away and boarded their ship at Benedict."

He adds correctly that "no reputable Englishman attempts to defend the outrage," but he should have noted that the capital of Upper Canada had been burned in a similar way two years earlier. Dr. Kingsford's account of this destruction is a curious parallel to Mr. Elson's narrative concerning Washington.

"The United States troops in possession of the town burned the public buildings, which consisted of two halls, with offices, for the meeting of the legislature, and the courts of justice. The church was robbed of its plate. The library was totally consumed with its volumes and records; many were pillaged. Commodore Chauncey was so indignant at the outrage, that he did his best to collect the books, and sent back two boxes of them. There was much plunder of private property. Many of the houses were so injured as to be left in ruins" (viii, 261).

Two historical pamphlets by Colonel Cruikshank are reissues of earlier publications. *The Battle of Fort George*†

\* *History of the United States of America*. By Henry William Elson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904. Pp. xxxii, 911.

† Niagara Historical Society. No. 12: *The Battle of Fort George*. By Lieut.-Col. Ernest Cruikshank. Second Edition. 1904. Pp. 36, vi.

was the first publication of the Niagara Historical Society (1896), and has long been out of print. Like all Colonel Cruikshank's work, it is marked by industry, accuracy, and close research. The account of the battle itself is preceded by a brief description of Niagara in 1813, by a valuable review of the state of contemporary public opinion at Washington and in Upper Canada, and by a concise résumé of the events of 1812. The grass-covered bastions of Fort George, that Gother Mann planned and in which Brock was to find his first grave, can still be traced, in spite of Government neglect. In May, 1813, it was merely an irregular field-work, timbered and palisaded ; against it, amid the thunderings of Fort Niagara and of sixteen war-ships standing across the Niagara river, General Dearborn sent 134 boats and scows, each containing thirty or forty men. The wretched fort was lost, but without discredit to its defenders. For, as a member of Congress bitterly remarked, Vincent, "the British general effected his retreat (probably without Dearborn knowing it, for he stayed on shipboard) to the mountain passes, where he employed his troops in attacking, defeating, and capturing ours during all the rest of that year of discomfiture." The second pamphlet by Colonel Cruikshank, *The Battle of Queenston Heights*,\* has grown considerably since it was first published in 1891. The closing note in that edition, which contained the original muster-rolls of the flank companies of the 2nd Lincoln battalion, gave a decidedly local flavour to the little book. These lists were left out in the issue of 1896 : the author probably found that he was addressing a larger audience than he had originally expected. The excellent prefatory note of the second edition, in which were cited nearly thirty authorities, besides the references to contemporary newspapers, might well have found a place in the monograph as now revised. Foot-notes have been added, in which are presented many biographical and historical details that are necessary, but

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\* *The Battle of Queenston Heights*. By Lieut.-Col. Cruikshank, V.D. Third Edition, revised and enlarged. 1904. Pp. 44. (Lundy's Lane Historical Society).



would divert the interest from the main theme. It is on his skilful array of facts that Colonel Cruikshank always depends for his force. Impartial and judicial, he may sometimes fail to interest, but he never fails to satisfy.

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With the publication of volumes ii and iii of the *Public Papers*\* of Governor Tompkins, Mr. Hastings announces the completion of the series dealing with military affairs of the State of New York contained in the large mass of manuscript correspondence known as the Tompkins Papers, preserved in the New York State Library. While these volumes contain many hitherto unpublished documents of much historical interest, it is much to be regretted that though the editor has apparently printed every document bearing the signature of Governor Tompkins, however unimportant, he has published very few of the letters received by him which in many cases are of great historical importance. The third volume contains a very full and satisfactory index to the entire series, and the printing and proofreading are beyond reproach.

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*Life of Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart., C.B., D.C.L., Chief-Justice of Upper Canada.* By Major-General C. W. Robinson, C.B. With a preface by George R. Parkin, C.M.G., LL.D. Toronto : Morang and Co., Limited, 1904. Pp. xii, 490.

The historical literature of Canada is much the richer by General Robinson's *Life of his father*. Than Sir John Beverley Robinson few have played a more important part in the organization of the present province of Ontario. Filial affection is likely to mar the impartiality of the biographer but General Robinson writes with discrimination. Though the book is not the work of a trained *littérateur*, it is none the less profoundly interesting. Its fairness is admirable. Many of the incidents of Sir John Beverley Robinson's career were

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\* *Public Papers of Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor of New York, 1807-1817. Military. Vols. II. and III.* With an introduction by Hugh Hastings, State Historian. Albany : J. B. Lyon Company, State Printers, 1902. Pp. xxiv, 784 ; xxxii, 800.

the subject of vehement controversy, but in his son's record there is not a trace of party spirit.

When the American Revolutionary War broke out Christopher Robinson, a young scion of a good Virginian family, joined the Queen's Rangers, a loyalist regiment, and fought throughout the war on the loyalist side. His family completely disowned him, and apparently after he enlisted there was never any communication between him and them. The Robinsons of Virginia were connected with the family of Colonel Beverley Robinson, of New York, who lost his fine estate on the Hudson in the war, and withdrew to England. Unlike him, Christopher Robinson decided to try his fortune in New Brunswick. Here, when still only twenty-one, with the fine recklessness of youth, he married. But he had half-pay from his regiment, the Queen's Rangers, and so was not wholly destitute. New Brunswick proving unsatisfactory he moved to Lower Canada, and after some further vicissitudes settled at York, in Upper Canada, in 1798, where, three weeks after he arrived, he died, leaving a widow and family of six small children, of whom John Beverley was the fourth.

He was born in 1791, and the person who played the chief part in his education was the Rev. John Strachan, the strenuous first Bishop of Toronto. Dr. Strachan began his career in Canada as a schoolmaster in Cornwall, and to Cornwall young Robinson went as his pupil. In these pages Dr. Strachan, who is best known in Canada as a militant bishop, with a command of racy invective, appears in a wholly favourable light. To John Robinson he was almost more than a father. He understood his young pupil's remarkable capacity, and at a later time urged him to seek a career in England. "I have myself," he said, "some ambition to be known as the tutor of a second Pitt." There was no university in Canada to which his pupil could go, and means did not permit of Oxford or Cambridge, so on leaving school Robinson took up the study of law at York.

In 1812, when war with the United States broke out, young Robinson, still a law student, went to the front. He was present at the surrender of Detroit, and he fought under Brock at Queenston Heights. In this battle Mr. Macdonell, the Attorney-General of Upper Canada, was killed, and the young law student, not yet twenty-one, became acting Attorney-General. He was promptly called to the Bar, and for more than half a century—from 1812 to 1863—he held high official position in Canada. His first legal opinion was on the question whether, since the surrender of Detroit, the inhabitants of Michigan might be compelled to render military service on the British side. His next problem was the punishment for treason of the inhabitants in Upper Canada who had helped the Americans. On his advice they were tried by civil and not military law, and a considerable number were executed.

When the war was over Robinson became Solicitor-General. Those were easy-going days ; he was almost at once given some two years' leave of absence, apparently on full salary, and went to England to qualify for the English Bar, because in those days the higher positions in Canada were only open to members of the English Bar. In the wider circle of London society he was as successful as in Canada, and on this and later visits to England he made many friends. He visited Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford, and the Duke of Wellington showed him special attention and confidence, and through him founded the Wellington Scholarships, which still exist in Trinity College, Toronto. The Duke had made himself master of the military problems of Canada. He once said to Robinson, "I am sure that I could now, from this room, give directions for posting an army at Burlington Heights. You speak also of Penetanguishene. I remember I was most anxious that that should be made a strong and important station" (p. 282). Upper Canada the Duke thought the military key to the British possessions in America. "It is Upper Canada that wants strengthening, and so I told the Ministers. Make all right there, and you are safe—but if you

lose that, you lose all your colonies in that country, and if you lose them, you may as well lose London" (p. 294).

After becoming Attorney-General in 1818, Robinson in 1829 became Chief Justice of Upper Canada when still only thirty-eight. As such he was speaker of the Upper House, a position analagous to that of Lord Chancellor in England. He played some part in politics until, after the union of 1841, the judges were confined exclusively to their special functions.

Robinson was a Churchman and a Conservative ; one of the leaders, indeed, in what is known as the "Family Compact." It is time, perhaps, that the term was abandoned; as Lord Durham noted, there was but little family connection between members of the ruling class in Canada, and, of Robinson's connections, not one was in the public service during the greater part of his career. His own attitude in religious matters is surprisingly liberal when we consider the vehemence of the political and religious parties which attacked him as a Tory. We find him giving land for a Methodist church. He never doubts the ultimate necessity for complete self-government in Canada, and in 1824 he was advocating Confederation on lines adopted forty years later. "If they would but adopt my favourite plan of giving an united Legislature to the four colonies, and leave the local Legislatures for unimportant purposes to each, every end might be attained" (p. 162). In the interests of a wider union he opposed the narrower project of Lord Durham, and that statesman's Report he found full of errors so far as Upper Canada was concerned. "That Report ! When I read the 119 folio pages I hardly found a passage I did not burn to expose. On Tuesday I took it up, and commenced the criticism in a connected form, and after two days' hard work, on Wednesday night I found I had got to page 27 out of 119" (p. 278). He was in London when the Report was issued, and remained there so long, using his influence against the union which resulted from the Report, that at last Lord John Russell gave him a polite hint to return to Canada.

Henceforth in Canada he was judge and private citizen only. Though his diary shows that he had fine taste in art, and though he had other and varied interests, he was by special aptitude pre-eminently the lawyer and judge. In London he spent his holidays going from court to court to see how the judges transacted their business. His judgments attracted attention even in England, and few, if any, of them were reversed on appeal. It was his special pride to maintain the dignity, and to transact promptly the business, of his court. He worked very hard, sometimes sitting at court for weeks at a time from 9.30 a.m. to a late hour at night. The pay was inadequate, and the close confinement ultimately killed him. When in 1854 Chief Justice Robinson was made a Baronet, a fitting tribute was given to a noble career.

His son has told the story with such accuracy of detail that we have noted hardly any errors. We may mention, however, that the "Clergy Reserves" question was not finally settled in 1840 (p. 177); nor was responsible government conceded in 1841 (p. 205). General Robinson discusses the University question from the point of view of an opponent to the secularization of 1849 and 1853. His tone is perfectly fair, but he is in error in saying that there were no resident students in the University of Toronto; from the first a system of residence was provided for.

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*Papineau. Cartier.* By Alfred D. DeCelles. Toronto : Morang & Co., Limited, 1904. Pp. 203; 136. (The Makers of Canada.)

Sixty years ago the name of Papineau meant to French-Canadians as much as, and, perhaps, even more than, does that of Sir Wilfrid Laurier at the present time.

"The name of Papineau," says M. DeCelles, "recalls the tribune who, from 1820 to 1837, is the personification of a whole people; who defends their most sacred rights; the melodious speaker who fascinates and overpowers the multitudes with his sonorous sentences, his ample gestures and his commanding appearance—the true sovereign, indeed, of his province of Quebec" (p. 1).

Papineau was born in the year 1786. His father was

already conspicuous in the politics of Lower Canada, and the son entered the Assembly at the early age of twenty-six. The Legislature of the day was organized under the Constitutional Act of 1791, and embodied the notions of the soldier Carleton that it must be steadily controlled from London. The Governor, the Executive Council, and the Upper House represented the dominant British interest in the country, while the popularly elected Assembly was chosen by the *habitants*, and represented their ideals. In such conditions only a high type of tactfulness could have prevented conflict and some of the soldier governors were anything but tactful. Just before Papineau entered the Legislature one of them, Sir James Craig, carried on a vigorous campaign against the freedom of the press. The expenses of government at that time were defrayed by Great Britain, and, when some of the French-Canadian leaders urged that the province should pay its own expenses of government, Craig treated them as guilty of treason. He wished to give to the civil power the appointment of the parish priests, to confiscate some of the ecclesiastical property, and even to suspend the Constitution of Lower Canada. No doubt the patriot leaders used strong language and were dominated as much by passion as by reason, but a wiser man than Craig would have avoided many of the causes of irritation.

When in 1815 Papineau became Speaker of the Assembly feeling already ran high, and he was not the man to throw oil on troubled waters. A born leader, with a gift of fiery declamation, and with a cause that had in it many elements of justice he was soon the O'Connell of Lower Canada. There are indeed many parallels between the French-Canadian patriotic movement and the Irish. The French clamoured against a Government that gave all the good things of office to the ruling clique, but when the Government heeded their claim and wished to appoint French-Canadians, they turned to rend the nominee as a traitor to the patriot cause. The attacks on the Government were of a most scurrilous character.

No politician in Canada now would speak of a Governor as Papineau did ; this is the tone in which he spoke of a discourse of Lord Aylmer,—

"Nothing could be more debasing and indiscreet than this discourse. A man with a certain dignity to maintain should not debase and degrade himself to the extent of taking pleasure in offering insult. His speech to the members of this House was addressed to the people. The insult is offered to them as well as to us, their representatives" (p. 107).

M. DeCelles's narrative is on the whole admirable in its equipoise, in spite of some echoes of Papineau's vituperation. "*Homo homini lupus*" he reminds us, and his description of the Government party is amusingly grim. They are "gloomy, cold-blooded fanatics" (p. 41) guilty of a "hideous machination," (p. 42), engaged in "infamous" (p. 49) conspiracies against the French-Canadians, with minds dominated by "audacity and blind passion" (p. 50). Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, a brilliant scholar and a man who loved justice, is "the cruel and pitiless enemy of the Canadians" (p. 82), while the devout and benevolent Colborne is an inhuman and blood-thirsty "firebrand" (p. 140). All this is grossly unjust to the chief persons charged with the government, yet it is true that the English press, in Lower Canada at least, was inconceivably callous and brutal in its tone towards the French-Canadians.

Lord John Russell's resolutions of 1837, authorizing the Governor in Lower Canada to spend the public moneys of the province without the authority of the House, brought matters to a crisis. Papineau, whose mind had been turning toward annexation to the United States, became wildly declamatory. The anger of the moment resulted in revolt, for which no preparation had been made. It was the testing time for Papineau and he did not bear it well. The charge of personal cowardice is perhaps unjust, but he was among the first to fly from Canada. His rashness had already ruined his reputation, and never again did he play an effective part in the politics of Lower Canada.

During his exile he lived chiefly in Paris, consorting with Louis Blanc and other Radical and anti-clerical French

leaders. He studied history, and his study helped to confirm his revolutionary tendencies; he came to hate monarchical institutions, and, from the ardent belief in Roman Catholicism characteristic of French-Canadians, he drifted into bitter anti-clericalism. The result was that, when amnesty was granted and he returned to Canada, a gulf had widened between him and many of his countrymen. More and more he became a mere malcontent until he finally retired from public life.

M. DeCelles's account of Papineau, the man, is in singular contrast with what we understand of Papineau, the agitator.

"He cultivated successfully that exquisite grace of perfect courtesy, so rare in our day, and which can hardly be expected to flourish at its best in our democratic atmosphere. He was like a survival of a former age. From his father, who had associated with the Canadians of the old régime, and was reared amidst the traditions of Versailles, he had imbibed the grace of manner and refinement which lent such a charm to social intercourse in the days of old. All Papineau's letters, except, of course, those treating on politics, breathe this fragrance of good society and are, moreover, imbued with a cordial spirit of warm friendship. Our readers will not be sorry to behold, side by side with the tribune armed for the fray, a Papineau clad in the peaceful garb of home-life in the midst of his family and friends revelling in the thousand details of domestic and social intercourse. . . . One felt at home at once under the roof of the charming Manor House of Montebello, with its vast apartments, affording, through noble bay-windows, widely extended views of the beautiful waters of the Ottawa. There was nothing surely here to suggest the ruder elements of democracy! Papineau was evidently a Pierre Leroux in theory only, his tastes and manners were rather those of an aristocrat" (pp. 190, 197).

While M. DeCelles throughout the book assumes the somewhat uncritical attitude of a champion of French-Canadian interests, his tone, apart from purple patches referred to above, is fair enough. His work is an original contribution to historical literature, for he was a friend of Papineau and has had access to private correspondence and other sources. The book will take its rank as the standard account of a striking personality.

In dealing with Sir George Cartier, M. DeCelles has had a less picturesque figure; though Cartier is hardly commonplace, there was in him nothing of the fervid rhetoric and soaring patriotism of Papineau. It is true Cartier took up arms in 1837, but he always blamed Papineau for having misled him. At a later time he became the Conservative leader in the



province of Quebec, and he attained prominence as the close associate of Sir John Macdonald. In Quebec Cartier rode the ultramontane horse, while in Ontario Macdonald relied largely on Orangeism, a singular and, one would say, impossible combination, as M. DeCelles points out, yet it long endured, and only the brilliant persuasiveness of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the end succeeded in breaking it down.

M. DeCelles's narrative calls for little detailed criticism. Cartier had much to do with the building of the Intercolonial Railway. He played a considerable part in carrying through the House of Commons the project for the Canadian Pacific Railway and also the Bill creating the province of Manitoba. In the latter Bill he took special pride in providing for the rights of the Roman Catholic minority to separate schools : provisions, that led to the Manitoba school question of a later time. He was a boundless optimist, while at the same time a stern foe of the anti-clerical Radicalism which came to the front in France in 1848.

Perhaps the most interesting thing in M. DeCelles's book is his description of education in the province of Quebec.

"The substantial education dispensed to the youth of Quebec is still almost wholly permeated with French notions of the seventeenth century. The craving for hero-worship is gratified in the history of France, whose traditions of glory and honour form part of our national inheritance. In literature, Bossuet, Racine, Fénelon, and all the writers of the *grand siècle* are the models offered to the imitation and admiration of young French Canadians, who seldom come in contact with Shakspeare and Milton except in translated excerpts. Moreover, English is indifferently taught in the Quebec schools. For years it was viewed by many as the language of heresy and of the conqueror. Fortunately, as a counterpoise to this apparently anti-English education, there exists the all-powerful teaching of the Church, who claims for herself and for all powers submission and obedience. The first duty of the subject in civil and political order is subordination to the government which holds its rule from God : *Omnis potestas a Deo*. Under the beneficent ecclesiastical influence, social and religious asperities are worn out and smoothed down ; and it is with a strong sense of sacred obligation that Catholics offer in their Church, prayers for their separate brethren" (p. 94. Part 2).

The volume is provided with two indexes, one for each life, and both hopelessly bad. The printing, paper and binding, in this as in all other volumes of "The Makers of Canada," are beyond praise.

The *Mémoires*\* of Robert S. M. Bouchette appeared originally in the pages of the *Revue Canadienne* for 1903, and were reviewed in our last volume (pp. 81-2). They well merited republication in permanent form.

Mr. Robertson† has collected from a variety of out of the way sources considerable interesting information respecting the early organization of the militia within the limits of the present County of Wentworth, combined with biographical sketches of some of the most noted officers. Much careful research has been bestowed upon the compilation of this satisfactory little pamphlet, which is illustrated by excellent portraits of Sir Allan McNab, Colonels Taylor and Gourlay, Major T. G. Simons, Captains Chisholm, Robertson, Roxburgh and others.

The journals of General H. A. S. Dearborn during his negotiations with the Seneca and Tuscarora Indians in the State of New York in 1838 and 1839, now first printed by the Buffalo Historical Society,‡ contain some interesting observations upon Canadian affairs. The fugitive leaders of the rebellion were still planning to renew the struggle from their safe asylum in the United States where they found abundant sympathy and support. Fourteen thousand regular troops had been assembled in Canada to repel invasion or suppress another insurrection. General Dearborn like many of his countrymen, then and since, was a pronounced advocate of the annexation of Canada. He visited the Niagara District and travelled leisurely from Kingston to Montreal and thence

\**Mémoires de Robert S. M. Bouchette, 1805-1840.* Recueillis par son fils Errol Bouchette et Annotés par A. D. Decelles. Montreal : La Cie de Publication de la Revue Canadienne, 1904. Pp. 130.

†*The Gore District Militia of 1821, 1824, 1830, and 1838. The Militia of West York and West Lincoln of 1804, with lists of officers, together with some historical and biographical notes on the militia within the territory at present constituting the county in the years named.* By H. H. Robertson. Hamilton : published by the Wentworth Historical Society, 1904. Pp. 62.

‡*Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, Volume vii.* Edited by Frank H. Severance, Secretary of the Society. Buffalo : published by the Society, 1904. Pp. xiv, 536.

to Burlington, Vt. He described the French population as being much excited and intensely hostile to the English.

"There is no hope for the improvement of the people, the agriculture and general condition of the Canadas," he confidently predicted under date of October 12th, 1838, "until they are either included as States with New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the British Possessions in North America, in this Union, or become an independent nation. The merchants and capitalists are Scotchmen and Englishmen, who come out only to accumulate wealth, with the determination to return home at some future period, and therefore are not directly interested in the future prosperity and welfare of the country, and make no permanent establishments in the towns or the farms. They act and feel like foreigners and have no patriotic sentiment—no deep feeling, no lasting and stable notions in relation to the present or ultimate station which the colonies may and should occupy. The French descendants (*sic*) who are called Canadians are generally ignorant, and have not advanced one step since their forefathers landed on the banks of the St. Lawrence" (p. 175).

Field notes of a survey of the south shore of Lake Erie in 1789 by an unidentified British surveyor are likewise published as also is the comparatively rare "Narrative of Matthew Bunn" a soldier of St. Clair's army who was taken prisoner by the Indians and subsequently enlisted in the Queen's Rangers. The adventures of David Ramsay from the Travels of Patrick Campbell are also reprinted.

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*Joseph Howe.* By Hon. J. W. Longley. Toronto: Morang & Co., Limited, 1904. Pp. 307. (The Makers of Canada.)

Mr. Longley's *Life of Howe* is an excellent piece of work, and though written by one actively engaged in politics, about one who was himself a vehement politician, it is quite free from partisanship. Of Joseph Howe, their most conspicuous statesman, the people of Nova Scotia are disposed to make a very great hero, but there is no hero-worship in Mr. Longley's *Life*. None the less Howe was a remarkable man. Orators are not often good writers, they tend too much to diffuseness, but Howe combined the two gifts, and to this day his writings are among the most interesting and trenchant dealing with the political history of a province of Canada. He had also something of a poetic gift, but it was above everything else his personal qualities that gave him a dominant position in the political life of Nova Scotia. Mr. Longley describes Howe at a political meeting. The leaders arrive on the open-air scene and

### conscious of their dignity

... "remain in a group to receive their friends and admirers in a manner befitting their high official station. Where is Howe ? In an instant he is flying among the crowd, speaking to every woman he knows, probably calling her by her Christian name. At one moment he has the charming Mrs. Smith upon his arm, perfectly happy to be thus honoured by the great Joe Howe, but in five minutes he has reached Mrs. Brown, another admirer, and by some subtle process not quite easy to describe, Mrs. Brown is seen smiling and happy on Mr. Howe's arm, until, indeed, the delightful Mrs. Jones is seen, whereupon, by a similar process, Mrs. Jones is likewise revelling in the rapture of a stroll with Mr. Howe. The other dignitaries are entertained at luncheon in a special tent provided for that purpose. Is Howe there ? Not a bit of it. He is lying on the ground taking his picnic with the Robinsons, with an admiring circle from the other families gradually gathering about him. When the time for speaking arrives, the chairman is conducting Messrs. Young and company, in fitting form, to the platform, which has been erected and festooned for the occasion. Where is Howe ? With a cigar in his mouth, flying about, arranging that all the best seats near the platform are filled with his lady friends, and this lasts until, finally, he is captured and himself conveyed to the platform and planted among the distinguished speakers. . . . When Joe Howe is upon his feet everybody is on the *qui vive* for they know that some delightful bit of humour will characterize his opening remarks, and then they look out for an outburst upon the local scenery and historical memories of the place. When at last the period comes, when, throwing back his coat, he begins to dwell upon public affairs, the heart of every man, woman and child in the vast audience thrills with the magnetic home-made eloquence which falls naturally and gracefully from his lips" (pp. 273, 274).

Howe came into prominence in Nova Scotia in the days when the government was still controlled by the Colonial Office with the Governors as its agents. He was an uncompromising Liberal. Nothing could illustrate better the defects of the old system than the weapons used on each side. The Governors with actual power in their hands paid no heed to the elected representatives. In the Upper House appointed by the Crown, the idea that ministers hold office through the confidence of the people is scouted, while at the same time in the Lower House it is vehemently asserted that the representatives of the people control public affairs. Mr. Longley quotes a despatch from Lord Glenelg setting forth clearly the official view prior to 1848.

"The language of the address [of the Assembly] would seem to indicate an opinion, which is not yet distinctly propounded, that the assembly of Nova Scotia ought to exercise over the public officers of that government a control corresponding with that which is exercised over the ministers of the Crown by the House of Commons. To any such demand Her Majesty's Government must oppose a respectful but, at the same time, a firm declaration, that it is inconsistent with a due adherence to the essential distinctions between a metropolitan and a colonial government, and is, therefore, inadmissible."

In changing all this Howe played a leading part. He became a literal terror to successive Governors and drove at least two of them from Nova Scotia. In his newspaper he addresses Lord Falkland, a Governor, in open letters that as Mr. Longley says, constitute "the very acme of vituperative literature." He even went so far as to hint that horse-whipping by a negro might be a fitting punishment for the Governor. It is hardly to be wondered at that dignified English gentlemen preferred to retire rather than to endure such abuse. The political paradox is indeed quite evident that when the Governors ceased to be active in politics abuse of them ceased and they gained in dignity, and in real, if more or less indirect, authority.

Beyond the struggle for self-government Howe, notwithstanding his great reputation, has left few direct results of his work; in the later days of his career a rival arose who in some degree effectively supplanted him. Sir Charles Tupper is the hero of latter day Nova Scotian history prior to Confederation, and Mr. Longley, a political opponent, describes his influence with perfect fairness. In 1863, Tupper practically annihilated Howe's party, and it was Tupper who in 1864 inaugurated the movement for union in the Maritime Provinces that led to the Confederation of Canada. Since Tupper favoured Confederation it was inevitable that Howe should oppose it. On the question Sir Charles Tupper did not appeal to the people; he was content to have the scheme endorsed by the existing Legislature. This was, of course, Howe's opportunity. He roused the country, and when the first Confederation Parliament met at Ottawa, eighteen out of the nineteen members from Nova Scotia were pledged to the repeal of the union.

Howe's triumph was brief. Two alternatives were open: forcible withdrawal from Confederation, or the repeal in London of so much of the British North American Act as related to Nova Scotia. Neither step was practicable, and in the end, using the plea of having secured better terms, Howe yielded and became a member of Sir John Macdonald's administration.

at Ottawa. In a two-fold way he was in a false position. He had to eat his own words, and for this the friends who had fought with him never forgave him ; he was besides a member of a Conservative administration, while at heart a Liberal, even a Radical. At Ottawa he had comparatively little influence and, says Mr. Longley,

"the consequence is that we find, for four years, the great old man playing second fiddle to his inferiors, and cutting a far from heroic figure in the arena in which he had been cast under circumstances altogether unfavourable. There are gleams of the old fire in occasional speeches delivered in the House of Commons, but this old fire usually betrayed him into injudicious observations which led to trouble and sometimes proved perplexing to Sir John Macdonald."

In the end he was sent to Nova Scotia as Governor but died a few weeks after assuming office.

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The history of the development of the Canadian Post Office is continued in the *Empire Review* during 1904 with an account of Daniel Sutherland, Deputy Postmaster-General from 1816 to 1827.\* His chief activity was in extending the blessings of a good mail service to Upper Canada. An agitation, however, was started in Upper Canada to have the administration of the Post Office for that province transferred to the Provincial Legislature, the ground of complaint with the existing service being apparently the scale of charges.

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Among the brief biographies in a volume on the recipients of the Victoria Cross† are those of four Canadians who received the coveted decoration for bravery in the South African war. They were Lieutenant (now Major) Cockburn, Lieutenant (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Turner, Sergeant Holland, all of the Royal Canadian Dragoons, and Sergeant Richardson of the Strathcona Horse.

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The volume of detective stories,‡ culled by some enter-

\**The Story of Canada's Posts, III. Daniel Sutherland, 1816-1827.* By J. G. Hendy. (*Empire Review*, January, 1904, vol. vi, pp. 645-651.)

†*The History of the Victoria Cross.* By Philip A. Wilkins. London : Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd. 1904. Pp. xxiv, 444.

‡*Memoirs of a Great Detective ; incidents in the life of John Wilson Murray.* London : William Heinemann, 1904. Pp. viii, 456.

prising journalist from the lips of a detective officer well known in Canada, is mentioned here only because of the many Canadian *causes célèbres* in which that officer assisted the Crown in securing convictions. The attempt by three Fenian emissaries to blow up the gates of a lock on the Welland Canal in 1900 has or may yet be found to have a certain politico-historical significance.

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In a pamphlet *Canada, A Modern Nation*,\* Mr. Lighthall pleads for a more patriotic and unselfish conception of the duties of citizenship. Prosperity and pride of territory should not blind Canadians to the fact that the evils of older societies, capitalist domination, class contempt, poverty and the rest also threaten Canada. The full public ownership of public utilities is urged as advisable for a thoroughly democratic nation.

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In Toronto and other Canadian cities an attractive method of instruction on public questions has been adopted. Lunch-eons are held periodically at which sometimes four or five hundred men sit down. Business men can attend these lunch-eons without loss of time, for within the hour the function is completed, including an address of half an hour, usually by some prominent speaker. The principal speeches made before the Canadian Club in Toronto in 1903-4† and also those before the Empire Club‡ have been printed in attractive form. A survey of the topics will show what Canada and especially the younger men in Canada are thinking about. We have the Hon. G. W. Ross on Mr. Chamberlain's Tariff Proposals ; Professor Goldwin Smith on the Party System ; Sir Sandford Fleming on Building up Canada ; Colonel Denison on Canada and Imperial Defence ; Mr. J. M. Clark, K. C., on the French Shore Question ; Mr. R. F. Stupart on the Navigation of Hud-

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\**Canada, a Modern Nation*. By W. D. Lighthall. Montreal, 1904. Pp. 78.

†*Proceedings of the Canadian Club, Toronto, for the Year 1903-1904*. Vol. 1. Pp. 149.

‡*Empire Club Speeches, 1903-04*. Editor : Rev. Prof. William Clark. Toronto : Wm. Briggs, 1904. Pp. iv, 233.

son Bay and Straits ; the Hon. L. P. Brodeur on the Loyalty of French-Canadians ; Sir T. Shaughnessy on Transportation, and so on. One of the most interesting addresses was that to the Canadian Club by the Hon. Clifford Sifton on Canadian Immigration. Mr. Sifton is the person responsible for the American invasion of Canada. He describes how his agents at first could make no headway in the United States ; in 1897 the work of some three hundred agents secured only seven hundred and twelve immigrants. But in 1903 forty-nine thousand were secured, and this result is largely due to aggressive canvassing and advertising. In England similar methods were adopted. The agents secured the names of agricultural labourers and sent out more than a million copies of a paper on the resources of Canada. The result was in 1903 fifty thousand emigrants from England, nearly all of the agricultural class. In this respect the immigration to Canada is in striking contrast with that to the United States, where but 13.8 per cent were of this class. To Canada have come none assisted by the Government, and thus the poorest class has been eliminated. Mr. Sifton's address shows what effect a little business enterprise can have on the future of hundreds of thousand of people. By far the most learned of the papers before the Canadian Club was that by Mr. John S. Ewart, K. C., on "The Kingdom of Canada." Mr. Ewart would have the word "Dominion" dropped, because he claims for Canada political equality with Great Britain, and "the assertion of political equality necessarily involves the assumption of an equal title" (p. 130). He emphasizes the limitation of Canada's present powers and draws up a rather formidable list of restrictions. He would abolish the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament ; he would abolish appeal to the Privy Council.

"Instead of the too prevalent self-distrust, self-disparagement, and self-renunciation, I venture to preach to my fellow-countrymen another doctrine, and to hold out to them a better future. Canada's Parliament shall be as omnipotent as that at Westminster. The King's Canadian ministers shall advise him upon all things Canadian, with the same constitutional authority as British Ministers advise their Sovereign upon all things British ; our own men shall decide our own lawsuits, and command our own forces ; and our own money shall provide for our own defences, and for such mutual aid as we ourselves may approve" (p. 128).

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In the Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, there is a paper by Sir Cavendish Boyle\* discussing the present state of Newfoundland without bringing forward anything new. Mr. J. G. Colmer has also a paper on Canada† which is a summary of present-day problems but calls for no special mention. Mr. Colmer advocates the use of Louisbourg as the safest and nearest port to Europe for the purposes of rapid transit.

The *Report on Canadian Archives* for 1903‡ consists only of a list of pamphlets in the Archives. The list is neither complete nor well arranged and from the omissions one is led to suppose that there has been considerable carelessness in regard to the preservation of the pamphlets.

*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques.* Lévis : Pierre George Roy, 1904.

The value of the contribution made by this periodical to the knowledge of Canadian history is shown by such an account as appears in the February number, in the words of an officer in attendance upon the Duke of Richmond, of his last illness and death. The special worth of its Question and Answer department is seen in M. Dionne's succinct note on the assistance given by the Dutch of the New Netherlands to Pères Jogues and Bressany when these were prisoners of the Iroquois. Governor Kieft (1638-1647) connived at their escape and at a later date wrote expressing his deep regret at the death of Père Jogues. The good character of the Dutch colonists, their morality, industry, patriotism and unwillingness to profit by Indian feuds is further proven by another reply in the March number. The career of the Abbé Pierre Huet de la Valinière (1732-1794) is recorded by Mgr. Henri Têtu in the May and June numbers. It appears that while parish-priest of Assomption he was accused of intriguing with the Americans.

\**Newfoundland, The Ancient Colony.* By Sir Cavendish Boyle, K.C. M.G. (Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, vol. xxxv, pp. 377-390.)

†*Notes on some Canadian Questions of the Day.* By J. G. Colmer. (Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, vol. xxxv, pp. 198-226.)

‡*Report on Canadian Archives.* By Geo. F. O'Halloran, Deputy Minister of Agriculture. 1903. Ottawa : 1904. Pp. 272.

A request by Governor Haldimand brought the Bishop of Quebec to order his departure from Canada. Only after labouring for some years in the United States was he allowed to return to die at Saint Sulpice. The most interesting of the notes in the June number deals with the construction of vessels under the French régime.

The July and August issues have the quaint story of a girl, Anne Edmond, sixteen years of age, who tried to stop Frontenac's expedition against the Iroquois in 1696, in which her lover was to serve, by giving false information as to the approach of an English army and fleet. It has also been issued separately, and is reviewed elsewhere.\* The short biographical notices of such adventurers as Jean Pere and Pierre Moreau *dit* La Taupine, and of such officers as Jean-Paul Godefroy deserve special mention. The notices in September and October of the career of the Chevalier de Troye (*ob.* 1688), and of the very honourable services of Josué Boisberthelot de Beau-cours, officer and engineer during the first half of the eighteenth century, and of Pierre Duqué de Boisbriand, French Commandant among the Illinois (*ob.* 1736), no less than the careful accounts (with statistics) of the pastoral visit of the Bishop of Quebec to Acadia in 1803 show equally clearly that the editor of the Bulletin recognizes how essential the minutest details of local and personal history are for the full understanding of the past. In the November number is explained the meaning of the term *engagés*, which was applied to labourers and apprentices, who contracted with a colonist or a ship-captain in France to do three years' service in the colony in return for their passage. Notes on the personnel of the second Regiment of the Militia of the Earl of Essex in 1812, and on the career of Captain Nicolas Daneau de Muy (*ob.* 1707), and on the question as to whether M. de Tracy was a marquis complete the historical work for the year. The December issue is given up to a table of contents covering the ten volumes of the Bulletin, 1895 to 1905.

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\*See review of Roy : *Un procès criminel*, etc., *supra* p. 32

*The Canadian Magazine*,\* the leading periodical of the kind published in Canada in the English language, has contained during the year 1904 a reprint of Mr. Bradley's *Fight with France for North America* with interesting illustrations. The book in its original form was reviewed in volume v of this Review. In consequence of the space given to this reprint minor articles of historical character have naturally not been so numerous this year, but papers descriptive of particular localities and others dealing with economic questions of national importance maintain the Canadian character of the magazine. Dr. William Saunders, Director of the Dominion Experimental Farms, has a paper on *Wheat-growing in Canada*† in which he discusses the possibilities of the Territories for cereal production. Wheat, he says, has been successfully grown at Fort Simpson, 818 miles north of Winnipeg by latitude. He describes some of the varieties of early ripening wheat which have been obtained by cross breeding, and says that experiments in this direction are to be made more abundantly than in the past. The article by Mr. Frank Yeigh, entitled *How our Grandfathers Lived*‡ describes the houses and household equipment of the average Canadian pioneer settler in Ontario at the beginning of the 19th century. Dr. James Hannay's paper on *The Settlement of Nova Scotia*\*\* deals chiefly with the settlement of Champlain and De Monts at what is now Annapolis. Subsequent waves of settlement are briefly discussed. The same subject is treated by Judge A. W. Savary in a paper called *Annapolis Royal*†† which, like the other, was prompted by the public celebrations in Nova Scotia of the tercentenary of that earliest attempt at civilized settlement in the country. The question of *Reciprocity with the United States*‡‡ is the subject of a series of short articles by American publicists. An interesting account of a Norwegian settle-

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\*Toronto : Ontario Publishing Company, Limited, 1904.

†Vol. 22, pp. 561-568.

‡Vol. 23, pp. 226-233.

\*\*Ibid., pp. 323-329.

††Ibid., 333-338.

‡‡Ibid., pp. 407-421.

ment in British Columbia is contributed by Mr. Iver Fougner.\*

In *La Revue Canadienne*† for January (pp. 62-65), the finding by M. J. B. Meilleur-Barthe, keeper of the archives in the record office of Three Rivers, of the acts of the notary Jean Cusson of Cap-de-la-Madeleine is noted. Since the records of the parish from 1640 to 1672 are lost, this document will throw much light on the origin and arrival of many colonists and consequently on the history of many French-Canadian families. The account in the April number (pp. 368-395), of the grant of the seigneurie of Yamachiche to Charles and Julien LeSieur by M. de Boucherville in 1702 is of value for local or family history. The articles on "L'Élément français au Nord-Ouest"‡ offer an interesting but scarcely sufficiently thorough and impartial treatment of a very important subject. The French-Canadians, whether passing rapidly through the west as fur-traders or voyageurs, or remaining to man the permanent posts of one or other of the great companies, have played a notable part in the opening up and development of western Canada. The Métis, whose character is discussed at almost undue length, were sprung from the marriages which the French-Canadians contracted with native wives mainly after 1785, and took up the tradition of exploration and service in the fur-trade. To substantiate his laudatory account of the character and services of the French-Canadians, the writer, M. L. A. Prud'homme, adds some statistics and an incomplete list of French-Canadians distinguished in the West after 1763.

In *La Nouvelle France*\*\* for December a copy of Montcalm's last letter found by Mr. Doughty among the Townshend papers in London is given. It goes to disprove the idea that Montcalm committed to the victorious Englishmen the care of the French-Canadian nation deprived of its valiant defender and of the assistance of an indifferent mother-country.

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\**The Founding of Bella Coola*. Canad. Mag., vol. 23, pp. 529-536.

†*La Revue Canadienne*. Montreal, 1904.

‡*Voyageurs, Canadiens-français et métis, 1763-1870*. August pp. 115-141, September pp. 312-319, October pp. 380-402.

\*\**La Nouvelle France*. Revue Mensuelle. Quebec, 1904.

## III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

## (1) Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces

## THE FRENCH SHORE QUESTION

To the relief of a world that has heard more than enough about the Anglo-French difficulties in Newfoundland an agreement was signed on the 8th of April, 1904, practically settling the question. Briefly the terms of settlement are that the French shall retain on the French shore their former fishing rights, including the lobster fishery and the right to take bait, but France abandons any claim to monopoly and definitely recognizes the jurisdiction on the shore of the Government of Newfoundland. For the French interests that suffer by the agreement Great Britain accepts the principle of compensation, and the question of indemnity is to be submitted to an international commission.

The tone of comment in both France and England is on the whole favourable. At the time the settlement was imminent M. Ch. de la Roncière published in *Le Correspondant* an article on *La Question de Terre-Neuve\** in which he gives a very learned account of the origin of the French rights in Newfoundland. With the matter settled, the article has only now an academic interest, but its erudition will be of service to the future historian of the question.

M. Robert de Caix was sent out by the *Journal des Débats* to Newfoundland and in *Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales\** he publishes a short history of the growth of French rights on the shore. He shows clearly that it was the increase of population in Newfoundland which involved a readjustment of the whole question and he sympathizes with the point of view of the Newfoundlanders that a large territory must not

\**La Question de Terre-Neuve. Les droits indiscutables de la France, d'après des documents inconnus.* Par Ch. de La Roncière. (*Le Correspondant*, 10 avril, pp. 39-71.)

\**La Question de Terre-Neuve.* Par Robert de Caix. (*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*, 1er juin, 1904, pp. 777-801 ; 16 octobre, 1904, pp. 474-490.)

remain desolate forever merely on account of certain formal treaty rights. With the question of compensation settled he supports the wisdom of the treaty.

M. de Caix has also published a small book dealing with Newfoundland\*. He visited St. John's and also St. Pierre. He is full of admiration for the progressive spirit in St. John's as contrasted with the isolation and stagnation of St. Pierre. St. John's, it seems, is robbing Norway of its monopoly of the manufacture of cod liver oil as a medicine, a new development of industry in the island. M. de Caix observed in Newfoundland that the market of the United States was chiefly looked to, and he thinks the islanders would prove hostile to Mr. Chamberlain's propaganda. He found that the question of cold storage both of the produce of the fisheries and of bait is much in men's minds in Newfoundland and thinks that it will revolutionize the fishing industry. At St. Pierre he notes many abuses prevailing in the system of government. Taxes are too heavy; the harbour dues are such that ships will not call, and he found it as expensive to cross the fifteen miles from Newfoundland to St. Pierre as to pass from Liverpool to St. John's. M. de Caix criticizes with some severity the French administration and when he comes to the moral condition of the French fishermen his disapproval is out-spoken. While the French Government encourages the use of alcohol in the fishing ships, the Americans will not permit it : the result is great moral superiority on the part of the Americans. M. de Caix's little volume is a valuable record of personal observation in regard to the fishing industry.

In *Le Correspondant* for June 25, 1904, Mr. J. C. Fitzgerald discusses the Anglo-French agreement.† The chief interest of the article is in its criticism of the Monroe Doctrine as applied to Newfoundland. Senator Lodge, it seems, is resolved that Great Britain must not acquire St. Pierre and Miquelon,

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\**Terre-Neuve, Saint-Pierre et le French-Shore. La Question des Pêcheries et Le Traité du 8 avril 1904.* Enquête par Robert de Caix. Paris : 1904. Pp. 102.

†*L'Accord Anglo-Français sur Terre-Neuve jugé par un Anglais.* Par J. C. Fitzgerald. (*Le Correspondant*, 25 juin 1904, pp. 1007-1021.)

for this would involve territorial aggression on the American continent by a European power. A further application of the doctrine is that, should Holland join the German Empire, Dutch Guiana would become *ipso facto* American, for otherwise a European power would again be aggrandizing itself in America. There is endless room for development of the doctrine.

M. Victor Bérard in *The Revue de Paris* outlines the terms\* of the Anglo-American agreement sympathetically.

Mr. W. N. Ponton advocates a *United British North America*† with special reference to Newfoundland. All the banking of the island is controlled by Canadian banks. The chief obstacle in the way of confederation is Newfoundland's fear of increased taxation. The island supports no militia, no public schools, and has municipal taxes only in St. John's. The government is centralized and paternal. Mr. Ponton favours the inclusion not only of Newfoundland but also of the West Indies, and thinks that Greenland also ought to be Canadian,—a large order.

Mr. Day Allen Willey describes in an interesting manner present-day Newfoundland.‡ We know of no better account of the chief features of the fishing industry. There are some good illustrations.

*History of Presbyterianism in Prince Edward Island.* By Rev. John MacLeod. Chicago: The Winona Publishing Company, 1904. Pp. 279.

The author of this modest volume is, as we learn from an "Introduction," signed O. R. W., at present labouring at an advanced age as an ordained evangelist near Vancouver,

\**Questions extérieures. Les Accords Anglo-Français.* Par Victor Bérard. (La Revue de Paris, 1er juillet 1904, pp. 189-216.)

†*A United British North America.* By W. N. Ponton. (The Canadian Law Review, May, 1904, pp. 283-290.)

‡*The Newfoundland of To-day.* By Day Allen Willey. (New England Magazine, February, 1904, pp. 762-771.)

B.C. His work in the ministry, however, up till 1889, was performed in the Maritime Provinces. The record which he gives of the growth of Presbyterianism in Prince Edward Island is mainly statistical and biographical, but the character of the work performed there by the sturdy pioneers of religion and education is clearly revealed in the narrative. The little island (which came into the possession of Great Britain in 1758), though separated politically from Nova Scotia in 1770, has always been closely associated with the larger province ecclesiastically. The first settlers, like most of their successors, came from Scotland, and in the colony Presbyterianism has in consequence always been very strong. The earliest immigrants, however, were without regular services for thirty-six years, being precariously supplied by missionaries from Nova Scotia which was itself only in the beginnings of its religious and political history. Thereafter progress was steady and sometimes rapid. Many of the facts here recorded might well find a place in a more comprehensive and systematic history of Presbyterianism in the Maritime Provinces.

The great physical endurance, the enterprise, patience and simple-hearted enthusiasm of the pioneers of Presbyterianism in the provinces by the sea are better known than their high intellectual ability and accomplishments. Their educational work is one of the marvels of Canadian history, and the intelligence, energy, and character of the people of Nova Scotia are largely due to their labours and influence. How arduous are the conditions is shown by the life of the Rev. Donald McDonald, a Scotchman who in 1826 took practically two-thirds of the Island, with over 5000 people, as his parish.

"He probably baptized more children, married more couples, preached more sermons, travelled more miles, and built more churches, than any other minister in the Dominion. . . . He spoke English and Gaelic with equal fluency. On a warm summer's day it was no uncommon thing to see the preacher throw off his coat, his neck-tie and his collar. He preached on week-days as well as Sunday, in private houses, school-houses, in barns and on the hill side. On sacramental occasions he often spoke for six hours without intermission. . . . There are thousands still living who revere his memory and look to him as their spiritual father."



To serve his immense congregation not less than one hundred elders were ordained, of whom thirty-five are still living. This physical and spiritual giant died in 1867 at the age of 84. He was the author of religious works of repute and influence in their time; and it is an indication of the vitality of his ministry that a "McDonaldite" Church has existed for many years in the city of Boston.

To the historical portion of the volume a number of sermons by some of the leading ministers are appended.

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*Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, No. 5. Saint John, 1904. Pp. 139-280.  
*Acadiensis, a Quarterly devoted to the interests of the Maritime Provinces*. D. Russell Jack, Editor. Vol. iv. St. John, 1904.

The New Brunswick Historical Society has issued another number of its *Collections*. As in the preceding number the principal articles are contributed by Dr. W. F. Ganong, and the Rev. Dr. Raymond. The former contributes two valuable historical-geographical documents, (1) Monckton's Expedition on the St. John in 1758 and (2) John Mitchell's Diary and Field Book Survey at Passamaquoddy in 1764. The accompanying maps are of great interest, and Dr. Ganong's notes and introductory remarks are also interesting and valuable.

A "Sketch of Nova Scotia in 1783," lately found amongst the papers of that versatile Loyalist writer, Edward Winslow, is contributed by the Rev. Dr. Raymond, who writes a short introduction and contributes explanatory notes.

Under the title "Loyalists in Arms," Dr. Raymond has supplied the most complete account of the "Provincial Troops" serving on behalf of the Crown in the American Revolution that has yet appeared. During the war more than fifty military organizations were formed in America which served on the side of the King, and in these corps were enrolled, at one time and another, at least 25,000 men, exclusive of those

that served in the northern or Canadian division. The circumstances under which the British American regiments were organized, their strength and character, and the services they rendered are stated with some fulness of detail. A tabulated return compiled from the muster rolls gives the names of the various corps, the number of companies, the maximum enrolment —officers and men,—the date of organization and the name of the commander. Appended to the paper is a roll of officers and the dates of their commissions.

A short article on the Loyalist Transport Ships of 1783, with names of those who came to St. John in the *Union* and *Cyrus* concludes this interesting and valuable number of the Collections of the Society.

The Tercentenary of the arrival of De Monts and Champlain on the coasts of Acadia was celebrated at Annapolis, at St. John and at Ste. Croix Island in June last with becoming ceremonies. The meeting of the Royal Society of Canada in St. John (June 22-24) gave an added interest in the occasion. There were present representatives of historical societies from Europe and America; and vessels of war from Britain, France and the United States graced the event. The corner-stone of a monument to De Monts was laid at Annapolis, and tablets were erected in St. John and at Ste. Croix Island in memory of Champlain and De Monts. In Nova Scotia De Monts was made the central figure of the demonstration; in St. John Champlain was honoured, almost to the exclusion of De Monts, in accordance with tradition which assigns the honours to the man of action, rather than to the nobleman to whom the French king gave the leadership.

The "Special Champlain Number" of *Acadiensis*, is an attempt, admirably conceived and carried out, to aid in doing honour to an explorer. The editor of *Acadiensis* sent a special commissioner to Brouage, the birthplace of Champlain to gather materials of his early life and surroundings. The result is a number of illustrations and descriptions of this remote village of four hundred inhabitants in Saintonge, France..

Another feature of this number of *Acadiensis* is the narrative of Champlain's Voyage, translated by Professor W. F. Ganong, and illustrated by photographic copies of pages of the original and copies of the maps. There are further illustrations of the quaint vessels and flags of the period and photographs from the best known portraits of the great explorer. In addition to these illustrated articles there are others descriptive of the country in Champlain's time.

To complete his work the editor, Mr. Jack, has devoted the greater part of the number for January, 1905, to descriptions of the proceedings at Annapolis, St. John and Ste. Croix,—the whole forming an admirably full account of the Tercenary.

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Miss Weaver's article, *What Acadia owed to New England*,\* is a summary of events of the early French period rather than any attempt to expound the subject denoted by the title. In an article of greater weight the same writer has shown us how narrowly Nova Scotia missed becoming one of the New England States at the time of the Revolution.† The population was largely composed of immigrants from the colonies to the south; many were "disaffected," and did not promise any high degree of loyalty. Indeed they were as jealous of their liberties as were the colonists who revolted, and the British Government regarded them as ready for revolt at any opportunity. Had there been a leader of power and influence to stir the disaffected into action the author thinks the result might have been subversive of royal authority. The strong force of British kept at Halifax and the feeble attempts at invasion by the revolted colonies stemmed the tide of disaffection, until the coming of loyalist refugees with their ingrained attachment to British institutions. Miss Weaver's sketch is based on original sources, references for

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\**What Acadia owed to New England*. By Emily P. Weaver. (New England Magazine, June, 1904, pp. 423-433.)

†*Nova Scotia and New England during the Revolution*. By Emily P. Weaver. (The American Historical Review, October, 1904, pp. 52-71.)

almost every statement being found at the foot of each page. Her careful review is open to this objection,—that she probably underestimates the loyalist influence in early Nova Scotia.

An interesting case of complications arising out of an ancient land grant is recited by Mr. Gilpin\*. In a recent issue of leases by the Mines Department of Nova Scotia it was unexpectedly found that the land for several miles on both sides of the Mira river, Cape Breton, had been granted in 1787 to a number of Loyalists when the island formed a separate province from Nova Scotia. Few of the original grantees took up their allotments; and in the following years settlers of all kinds, including a large immigration of Scotchmen, seized upon the Mira district. The confusion of titles resulting was several times brought to the notice of the Cape Breton Government, but matters were allowed to drift. In 1801 some of the original grantees petitioned to have the grant declared void so that they might obtain fresh allotments or an equivalent. Their petition was complied with and a number of new grants were issued, which led to still greater confusion. In 1839 the Legislature of Nova Scotia (Cape Breton having in the meantime become reunited to that province) made a bold attempt to rectify the innumerable disputes that had arisen, by enacting that all grants in the district in question, including the original grant, were absolutely void, and that the title was re-vested in the Crown. Such legislation proved to be impracticable; and four years after, the Act of 1839 was repealed, confirming the rights of certain of those holding lands under the original grant and subsequent to the escheat of 1801. The title to the remainder of the grant—estimated at between 40,000 and 50,000 acres—was re-vested in the Crown with provisions for adjusting equitable claims. No mention however was made in the Act of 1843 either of a grant or a reservation of minerals.

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\**The Mira Grant, Cape Breton County, N.S.* By Edwin Gilpin, Jr. (Transactions of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science., vol xi, part 1, pp. 89-94.)

This silence about minerals was probably due to the fact that the Duke of York in 1826 had received from the Crown a grant of all minerals held by the Government of Nova Scotia. This was rescinded in 1858, and the minerals, which the action of the Crown had withdrawn from the Government of Nova Scotia, came again under the jurisdiction of the province. The minerals reserved for the Government are gold, silver, lead, copper, tin, iron, coal and precious stones, a reservation somewhat more extended than that contemplated in the original letters patent.

"The determination of Canada to manage its own affairs," Professor Davidson writes,\* "is the great contribution of the Loyalists to Canadian history and progress"; for they have fostered "hatred and suspicion of the United States, and a passionate devotion and a willingness to make sacrifices for the British connection." These sentiments are strongest in the two pre-eminently loyalist provinces—Ontario and New Brunswick, chiefly in the latter, and he thinks a Canadian of the twentieth century should pardon the Loyalists for their misdirected attention to politics and their lack of industrial development in consideration of the service they have thus rendered to the national life. But Professor Davidson is not altogether a champion of the Loyalists. Out of their own mouths, quoting from the *Winslow Papers*,† he proclaims their intolerance, selfishness and lack of enterprise:

"Thus it has come to pass that the Loyalist tradition is responsible for the rather unenviable political reputation of New Brunswick of desiring to be on the winning side. Local Governments there usually have almost unwieldy majorities, and in Dominion politics New Brunswick is always with the Government."

The three phenomena which strike an observer of Canadian life and history, and which seem in the opinion of Professor Davidson to be traceable to loyalist tradition, are

\**The Loyalist Tradition in Canada*. By John Davidson. (Macmillan's Magazine, September, 1904, pp. 390-400.)

†*The Winslow Papers*. Edited by W. O. Raymond, LL.D. (The New Brunswick Historical Society, St. John.) See this Review vol. vi, p. 89.

absorption in politics, the slow awakenings to industrial activity, and loyalty to British institutions. While these influences have been powerful in the past, others have been at work modifying and controlling them, such as the later immigration of English-speaking people and the growth of large centres of population. The article is admirable for the clear and impartial view it gives of the life and influences of the Loyalists. While the author admits that the loyalist cult has often been carried too far, he aptly reminds us that to this day their manners are sometimes better than those of their neighbours.

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Professor Davidson gives elsewhere an inside view of how prohibition works in a town in New Brunswick.\* Fredericton, the "banner" town of prohibition in Canada, "was one of the first paces to adopt it; and at each subsequent election, prohibition has been carried by increased majorities"; yet "whiskey is sold as openly as tea." But Professor Davidson does not regard the fact as evidence of lawlessness or of any general disregard for law. Rather it is the disposition to treat lightly any law which fails to commend itself as reasonable. The local option Act, known as the Scott Act, was two-edged. While it pleased the active temperance people it interfered with the habits of other equally good citizens, who had no mind to play the hypocrite. So in process of time there came to be evolved the understanding that it was neither wise nor prudent to make "third offences" which were punishable by imprisonment without the option of fine, but to treat all but the most flagrant violations as "first offences," to which was attached the penalty of a fine of fifty dollars. By this working arrangement, which is probably not unknown in other Scott Act towns in Canada, a sop is thrown to the temperance people, and public opinion winks at offences which it does not regard as criminal. Professor Davidson

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\* *Ten Years in a Prohibition Town.* By John Davidson. (Macmillan's Magazine, February, 1904, pp. 261-264.)

decides, from his personal observation, that law-breaking in this form does not lead to lawlessness in other forms; and his opinion is entitled to some consideration.

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An anonymous writer in the *New England Magazine* sees in the *Atrophy of the Maritime Provinces*\* an opportunity to brush aside that "sickly sentimentalism," an inheritance from loyalist ancestors, and permit the flood of prosperity to "inundate" this country which is "atrophied" by being debarred from trading with their natural customers the New England people. The latter are in danger of losing their manufacturing supremacy, and Nova Scotian free coal might avert the disaster. The views of the writer are only an echo of what we often hear: "trade in the Maritime Provinces is gone or going," "industry languishes," "the country is being slowly strangled," etc. The cure of all these evils is of course annexation. But in fact the country has had its fair share of prosperity, and there are indications that more rapid material development is nearer at hand than such writers suppose.

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In the book published by Senator Wood\* the genealogy, letters and other documents are printed for private circulation and are of concern to the members of the family only. It is a matter of interest to the public, however, to learn that a distinguished member of this family, many of whom have achieved success by ability, energy and industry, has placed this record in a permanent form.

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\* *The Atrophy of the Maritime Provinces*. By "Givan." (*New England Magazine*, September, 1904, pp. 90-95.)

\* *The Wood Family, Sackville, N.B.*, being a Genealogy of the Line from Thomas Wood, of Rowley, Mass., born about 1634, to Josiah Wood, of Sackville, N.B., born in 1843, with many facts added concerning collateral lines. Published by Hon. Josiah Wood, D.C.L., Sackville, N.B.; Gathered and Arranged by James Allen Kibbe, Warehouse Point, Conn., 1904. Pp. 43, iii.

## (2) The Province of Quebec

*Histoire de la Corporation de la Cité de Montréal, depuis son origine jusqu' à nos jours.* Par J. Cléophas Lamothe et La Violette et Massé, éditeurs. Montreal, 1903. Pp. xiv, 848.

This volume is interesting because of its being the first complete municipal history of any Canadian city issued by the book trade. It has however probably provided a market of its own by biographical notes of the city's mayors, aldermen and chief officials. The historical survey it offers is most useful for the student of municipal government, though unfortunately authorities are too rarely referred to and the account is purely one of facts. We look in vain for local self-government under the French. In fact not until after the gaining of responsible government can we place the birth of a municipal system for Montreal. Montreal was incorporated temporarily in 1832 for four years and a second time and permanently in 1840. The charter in its present condition has the reputation of being the best drawn Canadian city charter. The editors however cite objections to its narrow grant of powers and refer to the yearly struggles against "cabals and machinations" in the legislature. Municipal students have come to see that the only effectual check to legislative intervention in municipal affairs is the establishment of a non-political, expert, permanent Local Government Board to supervise municipal legislation and administration, with or without, preferably with, wider municipal powers. Montreal's financial history is also interesting, but not satisfactory. The city debt in 1901 was nearly \$27,000,000, with assets in buildings, etc., of about \$12,000,000. The interest on the debt, for which hardly any sinking funds have been provided, has advanced from \$306,000 in 1870 to \$609,000 in 1890 and \$1,029,000 in 1901. Over \$4,000,000 have been expended on costly street expropriations for widening the old streets. The tax exemptions, chiefly of religious properties, are absurdly large. They have increased from \$15,-



324,000 in 1884 to \$36,023,000 in 1897. In its yearly taxation the city relies for a goodly part of its revenue on the so-called rental or business tax which Ontario cities are about to revert to on account of the difficulty of assessing personality. Curiously enough a few years ago the business tax in Montreal was so adversely criticized locally that a deputation was sent to study the Toronto system. Evidently popular belief in methods of taxation is very variable. None of the day-to-day problems of Montreal's civic administration is referred to, such as inter-racial and to some extent inter-religious jealousies, aldermanic interference in departmental routine, the civic fight with corporations using the streets, the statutory limitations of the debt, etc. While not exhaustive therefore we welcome the present volume as a forerunner of other municipal histories.

S. MORLEY WICKETT.

In a handbook\* issued as a guide for visitors to the International Electrical Congress is contained a very readable sketch of Montreal. The history of the town itself and of some of its more remarkable features is given. A curious instance of the irrelevancy of the illustrations is found on page 33, where the Anglican Cathedral is spoken of as the most correct in style of all the churches of Montreal. The illustration immediately above is of the Custom House, a hideous building, and there is no illustration of the Cathedral in the book at all.

In Volume vii we had occasion to review the first volume of the book on the Churches of Quebec.† It is hardly necessary to repeat our former remarks. They apply as strongly to the second as to the first volume. The Chapel of the Third Order, erected in 1678, is claimed to be "the oldest and the

\* *The Montreal Electrical Hand-book*. Being a guide for visitors from abroad attending the International Electrical Congress, St. Louis, Mo., September, 1904. Montreal: The American Institute of Electrical Engineers, 1904. Pp. 204.

† *Les Jubiés et les Eglises et Chapelles de la Ville et de la Banlieue de Québec, 1608-1901*. Par Joseph Trudelle. Volume deuxième. Québec: La Compagnie de Publication "Le Soleil," 1904. Pp. xx, 128.

only chapel in the whole country, which was built under the French régime." It is used to-day as the choir of the Sisters of the General Hospital, and is situated south-west of the sacristy and choir of the Hospital Church, in rear of the chaplain's apartments. The volume is filled with names of persons and places, but there is no index, except of chapters.

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M. P.-B. Casgrain in his article on *La Fontaine d'Abraham Martin et le Site de son Habitation*\* endeavours to determine the exact situation of the land taken up in the suburbs of Quebec by Abraham Martin, royal pilot of Saint Laurent (ob. 1664). His property was popularly known as Claire-Fontaine, from a spring existing upon it. It kept the name until 1784, and was never called, as Mr. Doughty believes (*The Siege of Quebec*, vol. ii, pp. 291, 298, 306), the "Plains of Abraham." At the time of the conquest the heights above the city were known as the "Heights of Abraham," possibly because they dominated the estate of Abraham Martin. The name "Plains of Abraham" is of recent origin, possibly applied to the heights because of the existence of a race-course there.

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With the purpose of inspiring the French-Canadians to greater efforts in the sphere of art, literature and education, the Honourable Pascal Poirier† reviews in a frankly critical mood the intellectual progress of Quebec since 1900. He recognizes what has been done in such departments as history, fiction, poetry and the drama, but urges that no progress is being made in scientific study, and that educational methods in general are utterly unsuited to modern requirements.

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\* *La Fontaine d'Abraham Martin et le Site de son Habitation*. Par P. B. Casgrain. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, vol. ix, section i, pp. 145-155.)

† *Mouvement intellectuel chez les Canadiens-français depuis 1900*. Par l'honorable Pascal Poirier. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, vol. ix, section i, pp. 109-116.)

Mr. Bradley writes a pleasant account of Murray Bay\* as a summer resort. The principal "humour" is the Scotch descent of so many of the French-Canadian *habitants* of the neighbourhood. Some Highland soldiers settled on the seigneuries granted to two of Wolfe's officers and married French women; their names, and to some extent their superior stature and red hair are perpetuated in their descendants, but neither their language nor their religion. Mr. Bradley makes the novel suggestion that an Englishman who wishes to enjoy a quiet summer holiday at small expense and in the midst of fine scenery and bracing air could not do better than take the ocean voyage to Quebec, spend a month at Murray Bay and return as he came.

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An exhaustive treatise on the Island of Anticosti by Dr. Joseph Schmitt† has been published in Paris. Its primary significance is scientific, for most of it is taken up with the geology, botany and zoology of the island. There is however a chapter on geography, another on history. The author is a French physician who was known to be somewhat of a naturalist as well, and the two-fold qualification recommended him for appointment by M. Menier as the resident medical man on his newly acquired estate of Anticosti. This was in 1896, and the ensuing nine years have been accordingly spent by Dr. Schmitt in visiting the sick among the fisher-folk of Anticosti and in pursuing his scientific investigations into the climate and the natural history of the island. His explorations into the interior have been numerous and have led him to conclusions as to its general elevation different from those ordinarily held. He has not of course been able unassisted to undertake a regular survey of an island somewhat larger than Corsica, but his observations seem to justify the conclusions that the interior is higher on the average than has

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\* *The humours of a Canadian watering-place.* By A. G. Bradley. (Mac-Millan's Magazine, October, 1904, pp. 424-430.)

† *Monographie de l'île d'Anticosti (Golfe Saint-Laurent).* Par Joseph Schmitt. Paris : A. Hermann, 1904. Pp. vi, 370. Illustrations.

hitherto been believed and that the water-parting between north and south slopes runs about midway between the two shores. In his historical chapter he gives a full and particular account of the concession of the island to Jolliet and of the latter's establishment there, as well as of the later attempts at colonization. It is undoubtedly a valuable book on an island the chief interest of which is still its untouched natural wealth. There are a great number of excellent illustrations from photographs.

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M. Aubert\*, who visited Quebec and New Orleans, takes advantage of the exhibition of old maps and documents at the latter city to contrast the great schemes of Louis XIV, Colbert and Talon with the realities of to-day, and the present condition and future prospects of Quebec and Louisiana, the French-Canadian and the Creole. The Creoles of Louisiana have been isolated. They are now 60,000 only among 35 millions of people in the Mississippi basin alone. The tendency is toward absorption into the world that surrounds them. Their language is dying out. In 50 years it will have disappeared. On the other hand, the French-Canadians are two millions out of six millions. They are compact, with language, religion and institutions tending to preserve their distinctive nationality. Numerically they are increasing. The race will persist as a separate element. Economically, they cannot hope to compete successfully with the Anglo-Saxons. Their language, the influence of the Church in matters of education, and their long and international isolation, all combine to handicap them in the race. Montreal and New Orleans bid fair again to rival New York as great commercial emporiums, but the leaders of commerce will be Anglo-Saxon, says M. Aubert. The French-Canadians will continue to be leading politicians, advocates, notaries, and attorneys. Their university and collegiate training will fit them for intellectual occupations, but not for leadership in

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\* *Français d'Amérique*. Par Louis Aubert. (La Revue de Paris, December, 1904, pp. 565-582.)

the great world of commerce. The paper is most instructive and interesting as coming from a French source.

An interesting article on the natural resources of the province of Quebec, by M. J.-A. Beaulieu\*, is published in a French periodical. The author expatiates upon the great expansion that might yet take place in the agricultural industries of the province, especially in that most profitable branch, the dairying industries. He justly points out that agriculture has hitherto been practically limited to the plains and river valleys, but that in the vast area of forest-covered hilly country there is still abundance of good land, only awaiting energetic settlers. The forest wealth of Quebec is very great, and because of the extraordinary place taken by pulpwood in the manufacture of paper the spruce forests of the province must appreciate in value. A third national asset is the water-power of the Ottawa, the St. Maurice, and many other streams which descend from the Laurentian table-land to the lowlands of the St. Lawrence valley in a series of rapids and waterfalls. Undoubtedly, with the improvements continually being made in the transmission of electrical energy, the "white coal", as it is well named, of the province will be turned to account in the future for many purposes, and even now the contiguity of spruce-covered hills and swift-flowing streams suggests the establishment of pulpwood mills. The sea fisheries are another source of wealth to Quebec, as M. Beaulieu points out, but he deplores the ruinous policy of the Government in selling to foreign syndicates the right, which they have not failed to exercise, of catching fish in certain lakes and rivers without restriction of size or limitation as to season. Of the mineral wealth of Quebec M. Beaulieu has not much to say except that it has hardly as yet been worked at all. We can commend the paper for its excellent sense as well as for the information it conveys.

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\* *Les ressources naturelles de la province de Québec.* Par J. A. Beaulieu. (La Réforme Sociale, 16 mai 1904, pp. 765-774.)

In the *Journal des Économistes* there are some highly appreciative remarks on the French-Canadian exhibit of farm produce and vegetables at the St. Louis Exhibition,\* and on the agricultural possibilities of western Canada. The author gives a lively account of the effect of the McKinley tariff in reducing Canadian exports of agricultural products to the United States. He also criticizes the protectionist policy of Canada, referring to what he considers the parallel case of Argentina. In that country, he says, sheep-grazing was the sole industry for many years, and so favourable were the climate and the soil that ranching investments paid at the rate of 16 per cent. over an average of years. Then came the reprehensible ambition of the Government to build up specialized industries, and they put heavy duties on the importations of beer, wine, cloth and other articles, with the result that now beer and wine are expensive and not fit to drink, and nobody makes anything like 16 per cent.

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An interesting paper on the origin of the French-Canadians, by the Reverend Professor Stanislas A. Lortie† of Laval University, Quebec, gives the conclusions of his researches on the subject, which substantially confirm those of Ferland, Rameau, Garneau, Sulte and others. Out of a total of 5,878 French emigrants that came to Canada between the years 1608 and 1780, there were 1,045 from Normandy alone, and 1,782 from the whole group of provinces south of the Loire. M. Lortie adds that the Normandy emigrants, having predominated greatly in the earliest period, had had time to "strike root" and impress their characteristics on the new national type and upon the language.

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\**Les Français du Canada à l'Exposition de Saint-Louis*. Par Laborer. (*Journal des Économistes*, 15 Novembre 1904, pp. 180-187.)

† *L'Origine et le Parler des Canadiens-français : Études sur l'émigration française au Canada de 1608 à 1700, sur l'état actuel du parler franco-canadien, son histoire et les causes de son évolution*. Publication de la Société du parler français au Canada, Université Laval, Québec. Paris : Honoré Champion, 1903. Pp. 32.

M. Roy continues to give to the world the results of his laborious researches into the history of French-Canadian families.\* The founder of the Canadian family Godefroy de Tonnancour, Jean Baptiste Godefroy, sieur de Linctot, came to New France about the year 1626. He became an interpreter, and in this capacity rendered valuable service to Champlain. He settled at Three Rivers in 1633—the first of the interpreters according to Sulte to become an actual settler in New France. Marrying in 1636, he received, two years later, a grant of the seigniorship of Godefroy opposite Three Rivers from the company of the Hundred Associates. In 1648 he became a member of the Council of New France. In 1668, letters of nobility were granted to him by Louis XIV, reciting his labours as one of the foremost makers of the colony, his large expenditures not only in clearing land, but in the king's service against the Iroquois, and the assistance rendered by his brother and children. By mistake the letters were registered in Paris instead of Quebec. In 1669 the king abolished all unregistered titles of nobility. Godefroy, like other ennobled Canadians, thereby lost his new rank. He died in 1681. Upwards of 330 descendants of the original settler are mentioned by M. Roy. While there were many who never married, and many of those who married had no children, it is interesting to gather from the particulars furnished in the volume that of those who had more than one child, forty families had on an average  $8\frac{1}{2}$  children each. Twenty-two of the forty averaged  $12\frac{3}{4}$  each. In later times members of the family distinguished themselves in various ways in the service of the state. Its representatives accepted the new condition of affairs after the conquest. With sincere loyalty to the Crown of Great Britain, they served as officers in the regular service and the militia. In the legislature they championed the cause of the people. One was a graduate of Oxford.

The handsome volume dealing with the Taché family† has been printed in a limited edition and contains about 25 excellent

\* *La famille Godefroy de Tonnancour*. Par Pierre-Georges Roy. Lévis, 1904. Pp. 128.

† *La famille Taché*. Par Pierre-Georges Roy. Lévis, 1904. Pp. 200.

portraits. Jean Paschal Taché, the founder of the Canadian family, visited Quebec first in 1727, and finally settled in New France in 1730, becoming one of its foremost business men. He acted as representative of the merchants to present to the king their complaints against Bigot. He had been worth \$120,000, an enormous sum for the period, but the siege of Quebec and the capture at sea of seven of his ships completely ruined him and he was glad to accept a notary's commission from Murray. It was dated February 4, 1768. On the 18th of April he died. Among his descendants, the most conspicuous were Sir Étienne-Paschal Taché, prime-minister of the old Province of Canada, Archbishop Taché of Manitoba, Dr. Joseph Charles Taché, and Eugène Étienne Taché, Deputy Minister of Crown Lands in the Province of Quebec, who has received the Imperial Service Order. In the appendix there is given the peroration of Sir Étienne Taché's speech in the session of 1846, containing the famous words :

"Si jamais ce pays cesse un jour d'être britannique, le dernier coup de canon tiré pour le maintien de la puissance anglaise en Amérique le sera par un bras canadien."

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In connection with the bi-centenary of Yamachiche in 1903, M. Bellemare issued a volume entitled *Les Bases de l'histoire d'Yamachiche*, in which he claimed that the first colonists who actually settled (*se fixèrent*) in the parish were three brothers named Gélinas, one of whom was "*dît Bellemare*." M. Désaulniers opposed this view in the *Revue Canadienne* and suggested that M. Bellemare's opinion was influenced by family pride. This charge is resented by M. Bellemare in the pamphlet entitled *Famille Le Sieur et les Premiers Colons au Fief Grosbois*\* and the writer reinforces his former argument, that the honour belongs to the Gélinas from the parish registers and records of surveys.

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\* *Famille Le Sieur et les Premiers Colons au Fief Grosbois*, Supplément aux Bases de l'histoire d'Yamachiche. Montreal: Imprimerie Bergeron, 1904. Pp. 58.



The volume on *La Famille Massicotte*\* contains reproductions of portions of the surveys of 1685-1709, showing Batiscan and Ste. Geneviève de Batiscan where the original Jacques Massicot took up a location in 1697. The land is still in the family, the property of six persons who bear the same surname. The numerous descendants of the founder of the Canadian family are to be found in every parish of the county of Champlain and in other parts of Canada as well.

The family history of the Ogilvies† is largely taken up with the biography of the Honourable Alexander Walker Ogilvie, who was a merchant of Montreal in the "fifties." He became a member of the Legislative Assembly of the province of Quebec after Confederation and a Senator of the Dominion in 1881. Other members of the family have been well known in business circles in Montreal.

A volume on Père La Brosse‡ was published as a memorial of a Eucharistic Congress of Angoulême held in July 1904, and to secure funds for "an artistic and parish work which will perpetuate the memory of that glorious citizen of Charente." Written for edification and for the glorification of La Brosse's birthplace, the writer may naturally be expected to magnify his work and his hero. To La Brosse above all others is credited the fact that French Catholicism has survived in Canada since the conquest. This is of course an extravagant statement. But his name is kept alive in the province of Quebec, where he is regarded as a saint. 2,752 pilgrims visited the Tadoussac church, in which he is buried, in two summer months, "this year, to ask favours of the holy missionary," it is said. "My hero is therefore a treasure for America, and

\* *La Famille Massicotte. Histoire—Généalogie—Portraits.* Par E.-Z. Massicotte. Montreal, 1904. Pp. 152.

† *The Ogilvies of Montreal, with a genealogical account of the descendants of their grandfather, Archibald Ogilvie.* Privately printed. Montreal, 1904. Pp. 98.

‡ *Un Grand Apôtre du Canada, Originaire de l'Angoumois : Le R. P. J.-B. De La Brosse, né à Jauldes (Charente), mort à Tadoussac (Saguenay).* Par Alexandre Chambre. Jauldes [1904]. Pp. xx, 364.

at the same time a glory for France, the name of which, thanks to his patriotism, is still blessed in those immense countries." This is the author's justification for writing the book. The birthplace of La Brosse was a subject of dispute. M. Chambre, curé of Jauldes, after seventeen years of investigation has been able to produce the baptismal register showing that his hero was born at Jauldes in 1724. That is the *raison d'être* of this volume. As to La Brosse's life in Canada, to which he came in 1754, there is little beyond what has already appeared in the Burrows edition of the Jesuit Relations.

The distinguished author of "Maple Leaves" and "Picturesque Quebec" makes use of these works, as well as of others, in a brief sketch of the Honourable Henry Caldwell, a prominent citizen of Quebec.\* He acknowledges particularly his indebtedness to Mr. J. Edmond Roy's *Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon* for dates and details. Henry Caldwell, at the age of 24, took part in the decisive battle of Abraham's Plains, as Assistant Quartermaster-General in Wolfe's army. He remained in Quebec, and became one of its most important citizens. He commanded the British Militia at the siege of Quebec in 1775. Legislative Councillor in 1782, President of the Provincial Agricultural Society in 1789, and Receiver-General for Canada from 1794 to 1810, he died in the last-mentioned year. His business enterprise is shown by the fact that he accumulated a fortune, was owner of several seigniories, including "the lordly domain of Lauzon," built mills and bridges, opened roads, and speculated in land, with various fortune. Caldwell died at Belmont Manor, which he had occupied for years. The great Intendant, Talon, had owned it in 1670. Two generations of Caldwell's descendants have dwelt in it since 1810. Sir James Lemoine quotes with gusto Lambert's account of the hospitalities of Belmont in Caldwell's time. The latter had a special horror of being buried alive. There is a curious

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\* *The Hon. Henry Caldwell, L.C., at Quebec, 1759-1810.* By Sir James M. Lemoine, D.C.L. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, vol. ix, section ii, pp. 29-37.)

passage in his will, which will satisfy every reader of the correctness of this statement.

Two brief biographies of curés\* do not call for special notice. They are intended chiefly to keep green in the memories of relatives and friends the virtues of two worthy men, who rendered faithful service to their Church and flocks.

The Rev. Félix Klein, a French priest, describes a visit to Canada,† interesting because of the point of view of the writer. Canada he calls the country of great horizons both for the spirit and the eye. The French-Canadian has, he thinks, but one country, Canada, and his detachment from France is very nearly complete. Himself a priest, the author thinks that anti-clerical France has profoundly alienated the French-Canadians. The author's list of the Congregations now dissolved in France but operating in Canada is interesting and extensive. The six North-west bishops are members of a French Congregation—that of the "Oblats de Marie Immaculée." Another order, the Basilians, is established at Toronto to the number of more than 50 ; the "Pères du Saint-Sacrement" are established at Montreal to the number of 72 ; the "Dominicains de la province de Paris" are at Saint-Hyacinthe, at Ottawa, and at Montreal ; the "Eudistes" are at Halifax ; the "Franciscains de la province de France" are at Montreal ; the "Chanoines réguliers de l'Immaculée-Conception" have 16 houses in Canada ; the "Pères de la compagnie de Marie" are established in the archdioceses of Montreal, of Kingston and of Ottawa ; the Sulpicians at Montreal have charge of two large parishes and of seminaries containing nearly eight

\* *Notice Biographique sur M. l'Abbé Mayrand, Curé de Saint-Isidore (Dorchester).* Par l'Abbé Th. G. Rouleau. Quebec : Imprimerie Darveau, 1904. Pp. 32.

† *L'abbé Isidore Grégoire-Deblais, deuxième curé de Saint-Odilon de Cranbourne.* Par l'abbé J. B. C. Dupuis. Quebec : Leger Brousseau, Imprimeur, 1904. Pp. 72.

† *Au Pays de la Vie Intense. Une visite au Canada : Français et Anglais; chez les Iroquois ; La Colonisation.—L'Evêque de Rochester.* Par Félix Klein. (Le Correspondant, Mars 1904, pp. 933-964.)

hundred students ; the "Clercs de Saint-Viateur " have in their various establishments in Canada not less than 5000 pupils ; the "Frères de Saint-Gabriel " have 1,150 pupils ; the "Frères de Ploërmel " have 12 establishments ; the "Frères de la Congrégation de Marie " have schools at Winnipeg and at Saint-Boniface ; the "Maristes " direct the colleges in the dioceses of Montreal, Quebec, Chicoutimi, Saint-Hyacinthe and Valleyfield. There are besides many congregations of women, and all these orders except the Sulpicians have been dissolved in France. The author visited the Indian mission at Oka, and thought the Indians practically savages still. He was struck by the absence of crime in rural Canada, and cites the case of a jailor who prayed for a prisoner that he might have some one with whom to play cards. Though M. Klein attended frequently the debates at Ottawa, not once did he hear French spoken ; the French members, he says, speak English if they wish to produce any effect in the Chamber.

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The agitation in the province of Quebec for free public schools with compulsory attendance and uniformity of text-books has naturally been productive of much controversy. The first edition of M. Bernard's pamphlet\* was exhausted in a month. In this reprint several chapters and some notes are added. It contains also a facsimile of a eulogistic letter from Count Albert de Mun. M. Bernard handles his opponents without gloves, and in very vigorous fashion. The Roddick Bill was a sign "of the English and Protestant peril, which threatens our school-system." It would "lead infallibly to the creation of a state university absorbing our Catholic and French institutions." The writer hopes M. Turgeon gave it its death-blow in the Legislature. "But the masonic peril, very real also, is still greater. It has its expression in the Educational League (*Ligue de l'Enseignement*) founded at Montreal in the

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\* *La Ligue de l'Enseignement : Histoire d'une Conspiration Maçonnique à Montréal.* Par Henri Bernard. Nouvelle Edition, revue, augmentée et précédée d'une lettre de M. le comte Albert de Mun. Notre-Dame-des-Neiges, Ouest, P.Q., 1904. Pp. xvi, 152.

fall of 1902." Latterly, it has lain dormant. This book is intended to prevent its re-awakening.

In the last volume of this Review the agitation for a special flag for French-Canadians was considered at some length. Various designs have been proposed, and modifications of those mentioned in volume viii are suggested in the later publications issued in 1904.\*

An anonymous writer pictures *A Coming New Republic* in the valley of the St. Lawrence, the "hope of the French people, perhaps not only of the New World but also of the Old." It is to be "a peaceful and natural movement," welding together the French-speaking people of Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick, and it will be "for the betterance of mankind and for the extension of the kingdom of righteousness." Unfortunately for his Utopian idea the fancy of the writer leads him to see things that are not strictly in the realm of fact. Granting the "prodigious fecundity" of the French race and their stay-at-home instincts, something more than these are required before the whole North Shore of New Brunswick or the whole of Ontario "becomes French-Canadian." Mr. George Johnson, the Dominion Statistician, has shown that the fecundity of the French-Canadians is almost counterbalanced by the mortality among their children. The writer would have us believe that the French language is the primary one taught in many schools of Ontario, "English being looked upon as a mere accomplishment." Something more definite than his statement is required. With Ontario, Quebec and northern New Brunswick welded together into the "Coming Republic" the remainder of Canada is, according to this versatile writer,

\**Le Drapeau National des Canadiens-Français. Un Choix légitime et populaire.* Publié par le Comité de Québec, 1904. Pp. 310.

*Le Drapeau Canadien-Français. Azur—Fleur de lis—Castor—Feuilles d'érable—Ecusson. Nos Raisons.* Par F. A. Baillargé. Montreal, 1904. Pp. 48.

† *A Coming New Republic.* By "Givan." (New England Magazine, December, 1904.)

to be disposed of thus : "The Pacific Province and Central West will gravitate to where they naturally belong, the republic to the south of them," and the maritime provinces will follow, if they remain English.

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### (3) The Province of Ontario

*The Talbot Régime, or the First Half Century of the Talbot Settlement.* By C. O. Ermatinger. St. Thomas : The Municipal World, Limited, 1904. Pp. x, 394.

In commemoration of the Centennial of the Talbot Settlement in western Ontario, Judge Ermatinger has collected from various printed sources and original documents many interesting particulars of the life of the Honourable Thomas Talbot, and of the history of the Settlement down to the date of his death. "The Life of Col. Talbot," by Edward Ermatinger, printed in 1859, was a most useful book, but it was unsatisfactory in many respects, and more valuable as a human document, portraying the author's characteristics, than as a trustworthy account of his subject or of other pioneers. The author of the present volume has included in it all that was of permanent value in his father's work.

The best picture we have of Colonel Talbot is Mrs. Jameson's. She visited him in 1837, spent some days at Port Talbot, studied him, and described him in her own excellent style. But almost everybody of note who came to Upper Canada visited Port Talbot, and, if a book of travel or description followed, the Colonel was sure to be in it. And so we have accounts by Dr. Howison, Pickering, Shirreff, Dr. Dunlop, Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley and others. Pickering spent about two years with him, as steward or manager of farm work. In his book he gives numerous particulars about Talbot's farming operations.

Mr. Ermatinger has made free use of these materials. He has moreover been able to supplement them by contemporary correspondence. The Talbot Papers include all that the Colonel is known to have left behind him. A few of the letters appeared some years ago in the *St. Thomas Journal*. Judge Macbeth entrusted the collection to Mr. James H. Coyne, who called public attention to them in his Presidential Address to the Ontario Historical Society in 1899, with the suggestion that they should be published. Colonel Cruik-

shank has since that time published in his Documentary History those relating to the War of 1812, and others have been printed in the local press. Judge Ermatinger gives to the public several of the Talbot papers, in addition to a number of those printed in the Documentary History. Among his father's papers, the Judge found several others of value. Letters are extant of Colonel Talbot and of Mr. George Macbeth, written from England in the later years of the Colonel's life, and now in the possession of Dr. Becher. These are of interest especially in connection with the strained relations between Talbot and his nephew, Colonel (afterwards Lord) Airey, and also as showing the strong friendship between Col. Talbot and Mr. Macbeth. Two or three letters from Talbot to Major Salmon show the intimate friendship between them. The Appendix includes a considerable amount of correspondence and other documents from the several collections mentioned above. In the body of the work are also inserted other original documents either in full or in part.

Talbot's early history is touched upon lightly but the materials are scant. He served with Arthur Wellesley on the staff of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and was sent in 1790 as lieutenant with his regiment to Quebec. Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe carried him off to Niagara as his secretary. In 1794, he rejoined his regiment in Europe, and in 1801 he withdrew from the army and spent some time in Canada near the present Port Stanley in the attempt to begin a settlement. He went to England to secure a grant of the township of Yarmouth. Having in his interest the Dukes of Cumberland and Kent, and General Simcoe, he returned early in 1803 to proceed with his work of clearing and settling, but found that the southerly part of Yarmouth had already been given away. Then he went farther west, and began his settlement in Dunwich on May 21, 1803. There he remained except for occasional visits to England or the provincial capital for nearly 50 years. He died at London, Ontario, in February, 1853.



There was a long controversy between him and his Dunwich settlers, especially on the question whether he had or had not defrauded them out of the larger part of their lands. On the main point they were wrong. Incredible as it seemed to them, the arrangement really was that the settler was to have only 50 acres, and the Colonel, for securing him, was to have 200 acres. They argued that it was the other way round; the Colonel was to have 50 and the settler 200. The Scotch settlers had a real grievance. They had been lured to Upper Canada by government proclamations, promising 100 acres to each. On arrival at Port Talbot, they found that Dunwich and Aldborough were reserved for Talbot. If they took land in these townships, they could have only 50 acres each, for which the Colonel immediately became entitled to 200. If they desired 100-acre lots, they must travel on foot long distances to newer townships. They were poor and spoke only Gaelic, and preferred to remain together. Some of those who settled in Dunwich and Aldborough took up farms in swamp districts. The work of clearing was slow. The roads were mere sloughs. Many died of fever and ague. Those who remained were not permitted to profit by their enterprise. The Colonel held back the two townships from further settlement, practically until his death.

The Colonel's achievements are principally the Talbot Road, and the Talbot Settlement. He received great credit for the former, which in Mrs. Jameson's time was the best road in the province. The honour has sometimes been ascribed to him of having devised the conditions of settlement, by which each settler was obliged to occupy the land, build a house, clear ten acres, and make his half of the road in front of his farm. But he is not entitled to this credit. The Surveyor-General had imposed the same conditions in 1794 on the Yonge Street settlers. The difference in working out the plan was, that the latter ignored the terms, whilst Talbot, being on the ground, and having absolute control of the issuing

of patents, insisted upon strict performance. His sheep-skin coat and high-boxed sleigh were a familiar sight on the road leading from Port Talbot to Toronto for many a winter. In ordinary life he wore a homespun suit, which he carried with him even to England. The frontispiece of the book represents him in his favourite striped trousers. Unfortunately, the photographic process could not reproduce the real colours. In the original, the trousers show broad stripes of black and bright red.

There are interesting references to a large number of the early settlers. Some of these became prominent in the province. Col. Burwell, Dr. Rolph, Dr. Duncombe, Col. Hamilton, Col. Bostwick, are among the more conspicuous names.

The founder of the Talbot Settlement must always remain a prominent figure in the early history of Ontario. For a long period he directed with almost absolute sway the settlement of 28 flourishing townships. These include the whole county of Elgin, and portions of adjoining counties, extending even to the Detroit river. He may fairly be included among the makers of Upper Canada.

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*Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records.* Vol. V. Toronto : Published by the Society, 1904. Pp. 236.  
*Annual Report of the Ontario Historical Society, 1903.* Toronto, 1904. Pp. 53.

The Table of Contents of the fifth volume of the Ontario Historical Society's Papers includes ten items dealing with a variety of subjects. The paper on "The Origin of our Maple Leaf Emblem," reproduces the report of *The Globe* on a meeting held in St. Lawrence Hall, 21st August, 1860, in connection with the approaching visit of the Prince of Wales, two letters written subsequently to the same newspaper by the late Col. Jarvis and J. H. Morris respectively, a letter on "National Sentiment" in *The Empire* of July 16, 1890, and an editorial commenting thereon, with some brief notes by Mr. Morris. The

editor explains that he has "taken the liberty in all the quotations of changing the words 'England' and 'English' into the correct forms, 'Britain' or 'United Kingdom' and 'British,' when they refer to our great and beloved Empire." The "perfervidum ingenium Scotorum" is a factor to be reckoned with, but whether it is right, in what is professedly a copy of a document, to make alterations in conformity with the editor's sentiment, is more than doubtful. Would not a foot-note have been sufficient? The meeting adopted the Maple Leaf as the emblem of native Canadians.

Miss Janet Carnochan's valuable paper on "The Count de Puisaye—a Forgotten Page of Canadian History," throws much light on the Count's life and character, and his attempt to establish a colony of émigrés in Upper Canada. There is a full-page portrait of the Count from an original painting which is in the possession of Mr. G. S. Griffin, a grand-nephew of the Countess de Puisaye.

Miss L. Teefy has some "Historical Notes on Yonge Street." The late Mr. I. M. Wellington's sketch of Presqu' Isle is reprinted from the Brighton *Ensign* of 1895, with Notes by Mr. C. C. James. Dr. Bowerman has a "Genealogical List of the Bull Family" of the county of Prince Edward, Ontario. The work of printing ancient church records is continued, the present volume containing the Rev. Ralph Leeming's register of baptisms and marriages in the Gore and London Districts from 1816 to 1827, with introductory note by Mr. H. H. Robertson, and the Rev. John Miller's of baptisms, marriages and burials in connection with his incumbency of Ancaster Church from 1830 to 1838. Mr. Holly S. Seaman's illustrated paper on the Rev. William Smart of Elizabethtown gives some particulars of the life and death of "the fourth Presbyterian minister to be permanently settled in Upper Canada, and the first minister of the Gospel settled in the District of Johnstown." It is followed by his Marriage Register 1812-1841, and his record of Baptisms 1812-1814.

The Annual Report of the Society contains an interesting account of the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the Talbot Settlement. Judge Ermatinger pleaded that Talbot, who was a somewhat elaborate illustration of the vices of his time, should be judged by the standard of his own age, not of ours. Slavery, duelling, land-grabbing, excessive drinking were all looked upon with indulgent eyes a hundred years ago. Mr. C. C. James read an interesting paper describing the establishment of the first Government of Upper Canada in 1792.

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*The Story of Baw-a-ting, being the Annals of Sault Sainte Marie.* By Edward H. Capp. Sault Sainte Marie, Canada : 1904. Pp. xvi, 264.

As a specimen of artistic book-making, this volume ranks high among the choicest Canadian publications. Paper, type, binding and illustrations are excellent. There are wide margins, many of them decorated with appropriate sketches.

The work, as the author states, is the outcome of the increased interest in local history, manifested in recent years in the formation of historical societies throughout the country. The Ontario Historical Society has done efficient work in organizing and stimulating the local societies, and by its meetings and publications in keeping up the interest in the history of the province. An important object is the collection and preservation of local traditions, songs and stories, and reminiscences of pioneers. These have much to do with the character of a community. The author has done well to collect and preserve these, as he found them in Algoma. He has woven them with the better known facts; but the main value of the book is in the incidents and stories which he has succeeded in preserving.

In the history of Sault Ste. Marie during the French period, a number of minor errors are to be noted. There is no authority for stating that the "Griffon" visited the Sault in 1680. The "Griffon's" voyage was in 1679, and she was never heard

of after that year. She spent six days at Michillimackinac before proceeding up Lake Michigan, but Hennepin's account shows clearly that she did not come by way of the Sault, and he does not say that she visited the Sault before continuing on her route to Green Bay. If such a visit had been paid, he would hardly have failed to record it. The statement that "in 1605 the Beaver Company sent agents to near and around the great lakes and Northwest Territory" is given on the authority of Beckles Willson, a note on page 20 of "The Great Company" being referred to. Mr. Willson's foot-note is a very careless piece of work, but he does not make the statement attributed to him. There is reason to believe that Brulé was at the Sault as early as 1622. Fur-traders may have been there before him. But there is absolutely no authority for saying that any white man actually saw the Sault or Lake Superior before Brulé. Dollier de Casson and Galinée left Montreal in 1669, not 1670, as stated. They arrived at the Sault however in 1670. Mr. Capp speaks of the mound-builders as "pre-Indian." The theory has long since been exploded. During the last century, Indians built mounds of the same general character, and were observed doing so by whites, who described the process. The Marquis de Nadaillac, in his *Prehistoric America*, goes fully into the question, but it has been treated by others as well.

With the history of the Sault are connected the names of many great travellers and historical personages from Brulé and Marquette to Lord Wolseley and Colonel Prince. But why has the author failed to record the name of George McDougall, forever famous among the makers of the greater Canada? As missionary, diplomatist and far-seeing statesman, he is worthy of being held in remembrance along with his predecessors Jogues and Marquette, and his contemporary Lacombe. McDougall began his missionary operations among the Indians of Garden River in 1851. They closed on the prairie near the foot-hills of the Rockies many years afterward, when, after long searching, he was found frozen with his arms

folded across his breast. His work had spread over what is now New Ontario to the Hudson Bay region northward and westward to the Rockies.

The chapter on the schools and churches seems to lack proportion. Some allowance is of course to be made for the point of view of the writer. But it would seem to be a pity that a record, purporting to deal with the churches of the Sault in 1904, should not have given information respecting all the religious bodies and with some regard to proportion.

There is an account of the old canal, completed in 1798, but not mentioned after 1803. There is no record, it is said, of the lock having been used. The three-cornered struggle between the North West Company, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the New North West Company (the "X. Y. Co.") receives attention, as well as Lord Selkirk's unsuccessful attempt to establish a colony at the Sault in 1803, upon conditions similar to those on which the Talbot Settlement was founded. Failing to establish his settlers at the Sault, he formed his colony at Baldoon, near Lake St. Clair. Among later names the most interesting perhaps is that of Ermatinger (spelled Armitinger in the book), who was at the Sault early in the last century. His residence is still standing, and the Carey Block was built by him. He kept open house for all comers. Those indeed were the days of hospitality, and the reference made to the dances and revels of the early time is quite in place.

The style of the book is eloquent, ornate and scholarly. It makes easy reading. In spite of some defects which have been noted above, it is an interesting picture, beautifully framed, of a prosperous town, with a long and romantic history, and a future of wonderful promise.

JAMES H. COYNE.

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Mr. James,\* we are glad to see, is continuing the good work so auspiciously begun by him last year. In following

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\* *The Second Legislature of Upper Canada, 1796-1800.* By C. C. James. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, vol. ix, section ii, pp. 145-172.)

so safe a guide we are on firm ground. From his official position he has ready access to the accumulation of historical material in the provincial parliament buildings. He appears to have spared no pains however in extending his researches far and wide, while his local knowledge is of service especially in dealing with the region between Toronto and Kingston. The four sessions of the second parliament were all held at York. This is proved by the journals. An incident of this parliament was the death of John White, attorney-general, who was killed in a duel in January, 1800. He was succeeded by Thomas Scott, afterwards chief-justice. The membership naturally includes many names that are still well known in the province. The old custom of keeping open house during elections is noted. One member at least, if not two, had negro slaves. Five pages are devoted to members of the First Legislature, supplementing and correcting the paper in Volume viii of the Royal Society's Transactions which we reviewed last year.\* Some bibliographical references, and a list of members of the First and Second Legislatures conclude a publication which will be of permanent value to students of Canadian political history.

† See Review, vol. viii, p. 134.

The district characterized by Mr. St. Michael-Podmore as *A Sporting Paradise*\* is Muskoka, and the author has chapters on the moose, the Virginian deer, the black bear, the wolf, the lynx, and the so-called partridges, which are really a species of grouse. All these wild animals are to be found in the woods about the Muskoka lakes, although the vast majority of summer visitors see nothing of them. The author writes with great enthusiasm, but somewhat grandiloquently, and his adventures lose nothing in the telling.

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\* *A Sporting Paradise, with stories of adventure in America and the back-woods of Muskoka.* By P. St. Michael-Podmore. London : Hutchinson & Co., 1904. Pp. x, 274.

In the Memorial Volume *Ebenezer*\* the treatment is sufficiently indicated by the title. The church was founded in 1856 by the Rev. John Mark King. There are sketches of more than a hundred members, with an alphabetical list of their names.

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The Province of Ontario has established a Bureau of Archives under the competent direction of Mr. Alexander Fraser. His first Report† explains the reasons for the Bureau and outlines the work proposed. It contains in addition some interesting reminiscences of the beginning of settlement in Durham County.

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\* "*Ebenezer.*" *A history of the Central Presbyterian Church, Galt, Ontario. With brief sketches of some of its members who have passed on the other side.* By the Rev. James A. R. Dickson. Toronto : William Briggs, 1904. Pp. 394.

† *First Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario.* By Alexander Fraser, Archivist. 1903. Toronto, 1904. Pp. 71.



**(4) Manitoba, British Columbia, and the North-West Territories.**

*The Canadian West, a Geography of Manitoba and the North-West Territories.* By Alexander McIntyre. Toronto : Morang & Co., Limited, 1904. Pp. xvi, 250.

Of late years there has been a growing demand, in some of the provinces, for a supplement to the general text-book in geography used in the public schools. It is evidently in response to this demand, as far at least as it is expressed in western Canada, that Mr. McIntyre has written *The Canadian West*. The book opens with a description of the early occupants of the great "Lone Land," the Indian hunter, the mound-builder, the Eskimo, and the fur-trader. It is interesting to note that the author seems to favour the theory that the Indians were themselves the mound-builders. Of these early chapters the one on the fur-traders falls short of the high standard of the others, being less descriptive, and more a record of historical facts. Incidentally there appears to be no good reason for omitting from a record of exploration Mackenzie's journey to the Pacific (p. 28). Then follow chapters on surface and drainage, climate, and soil. These important phases of the study of geography, so difficult to present to young students, are handled in a way at once scientific and simple. The reader is next introduced to the surveyor and to the settler. The picture of the "making of the settlement" is decidedly vivid. The treatment of plant, animal, and bird life is such as will stimulate in boys and girls a desire to know more about the wild life of their country. The industries of western Canada, and the development of transportation facilities are very fully dealt with. Two chapters are devoted to the cities and principal towns, one to the various elements in the population of the west, and the book closes with a brief reference to government. A full appendix contains much valuable information, which the author has wisely kept out of the text. An interesting part of the appendix is that dealing with "Names and Their Histories."

It is not overstating the case to say that Mr. McIntyre has given to the schools of the West an ideal text-book. The plan of the work is pedagogically sound, while the method of presentation is peculiarly suited to young readers. The author is evidently an experienced teacher, if we may judge from the ease with which he adjusts himself, both in choice of subject matter and in style, to the standard of his readers. The illustrations and maps, of which there are no less than one hundred and fifty-six, are beyond praise. Almost without exception these supplement or illuminate the text. While intended primarily for school use, Mr. McIntyre's book will appeal to a wider constituency than the public schools. It is doubtful if the Government could find a more effective work on western Canada for distribution in countries from which Canada seeks new settlers.

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*Mgr. Grandin, Oblat de Marie Immaculée, premier évêque de Saint-Albert.* Par le R. P. E. Jonquet. Montreal : Giroux, 1903. Pp. vi, 532.

*Mgr. Grandin* is the biography of the late venerable bishop of Saint Albert who, after forty-seven years of unremitting devotion as a missionary in the least known North-west of Canada, died in 1902. With no other preoccupation than that of the life of a zealous son of the Church, this book adds but one more chapter to the growing chronicle of missions and one more honourable name to the already large roll of pioneers to whose humility, self-sacrifice, tact and industry must be ascribed in large measure the elimination from western Canada of the elements of lawlessness and unrest.

Bishop Grandin was born in France in 1829, took his priestly vows in 1854, embarked almost immediately for Canada and arrived in Winnipeg the same year. Thence he was sent as a missionary to Lake Ile-à-la-Crosse, his work lying particularly among the Montagnais Indians. In 1857 he was appointed Bishop Coadjutor of the diocese of Saint Boniface (which at that time comprised the whole region of the North-

west) with jurisdiction over the vast, arctic areas of Athabasca and Mackenzie districts. In 1868 he was transferred to Saint Albert, the residence of the newly organized vicariate of Alberta, Assiniboia, and Saskatchewan, of which, in 1872, he was appointed bishop. "The inhabitants of these regions were no longer the mild and peaceable Montagnais. The fierce and more independent tribes of the Crees and Blackfeet struggled for the possession of the land in constant and bloody strife." These, with the Métis and a few French-Canadians, some of whom he himself had induced to immigrate in order to support the French language and the Catholic religion against the encroachment of English and Protestantism, were his new parishioners, and to these he remained constantly devoted in spite of the disabilities of age and the attractions of preferment.

Unlike the late Archbishop Taché, Grandin had not the ambitions of a statesman, and, while living in the midst of stirring and romantic events, he shrank from any interference in public matters. He was, as might be expected, strongly partisan in anything affecting his race or religion; he made a strong protest against the indifference of the Government to the claims of the half-breeds in 1869 and strenuously opposed existing legislation in educational matters, on the ground of its neglect of Roman Catholic interests. These were, however, quite unusual excursions into the realm of practical politics. Conservative and modest in the extreme, he accepted the bishopric reluctantly and deprecated every suggestion of further advancement. Contemporary opinion, while ignoring the biographer's hint of miracle-working, joins him in attributing to the bishop the graces of the saint rather than the qualities of the soldier: intense zeal, joyful and absolute devotion, gentleness, self-effacement.

Written more especially for a continental audience, the book contains much that is interesting to readers unacquainted with the outlines of Canadian history, the facts of its government, the customs and habits of its Indian population, and

the hardships and romance of pioneer life. For such data the author relies upon other sources than Bishop Grandin's journals and letters. These seem to have been so fully concerned with purely religious interests as to find little room for remark upon other matters even in such a tremendous excursion as that to Fort Good Hope, which occupied him about three years and in which he must have taken a direct flight toward the pole of almost 1300 miles. While dealing with a period abundant in momentous changes, these are touched only in passing and by way of varying biographical monotony, so that nothing is added to the secret history of the period nor any enlargement made of our knowledge of the people, places and events in the midst of which Mgr. Grandin lived and worked.

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In *Blackwood's Magazine* Mr. Hanbury-Williams\* has an amusing paper describing a journey in northern Manitoba. He travelled by rail, water, and road. The appearance of the country, the weather, the inhabitants, the towns and hamlets, the wild animals, the birds and the mosquitoes all receive comment. In a country like Manitoba, whose past history is short but whose future is large, faithful descriptions such as this of present conditions, although limited to superficial features, deserve to be noticed. Manitoba is rapidly changing with the present great influx of settlers, and a record of its appearance to-day will be useful to the future historian.

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A very unfavourable view of life in the North-west is given in a series of letters printed in *The Leisure Hour*.† The writer, as is explained in a short introduction, is a young man brought up to office employment in London. His health began to fail and he resolved to join the colonist party led by Mr. Barr to Saskatoon in 1903. His exper-

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\* *A Spring Trip in Manitoba*. By Charles Hanbury-Williams. (*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, July, 1904, pp. 56-75.)

† *Experiences of a City Clerk in Canada*. (*Leisure Hour*, August, September, and October, 1904, pp. 859-866, 929-942, 1014-1021.)

iences and impressions of the country are given in these private letters to his family, which, written without thought of publication, were allowed to be printed for the instruction, presumably, of would-be colonists of the same type. A very unpleasant picture is presented. The writer left the Barr party at Winnipeg, and made shift to get employment with farmers for a year before taking up his homestead as pre-arranged with Mr. Barr. He complains of being underfed and ill fed, overworked, inadequately paid, and put to sleep in stables and outhouses. Nature appears to have treated him even worse than did his masters; the hardships of bad weather, summer and winter alike, are the subject most dwelt upon. No names of places are given, but the district in which he suffered was evidently eastern Assiniboia. A distinctly unfavourable impression of that country will undoubtedly be given to the ordinary English reader by these letters, but the experience of others in the same district would perhaps be different. It must not be supposed that the writer of the letters is a mere grumbler or even inclined to take a despondent view of his circumstances. On the contrary he shows himself to be willing to work and possessed of both courage and endurance, and his complaints, above referred to, are statements of naked facts made without unnecessary repining. The secret of his unfortunate experiences lies in the two facts that he was not in good health and that he was utterly unfitted by previous training for the rough out-of-door life which he attempted to lead. In his letters written during the summer months we read incessantly of cold rains and not once of a bright warm day, and on September 12 he says that he has not "seen any summer yet." If no indication of his locality in Canada had been given one would conjecture from these criticisms of the weather that he was living in the neighbourhood of Great Bear Lake. Those who know what the summer of eastern Assiniboia is like would hardly admit that the letter-writer had been fair to it. His expectations as to the treatment he should receive as a farm-hand seem

to have been unduly high, and the staple fare of bacon, bread, potatoes, tea and sugar, the monotony of which oppressed him, actually constitutes very fair living. Is the agricultural labourer in England better fed? One other indication of the writer's attitude of mind is worth quoting. He became so ill that he had to consult a doctor in the nearest town. "He has given me a prescription for some medicine; his advice cost me \$1, and the chemist charged 95 cents for the physic, so you see medical advice is a very expensive luxury out here."

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*The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia, formerly New Caledonia.* By the Rev. A. G. Morice, 1904. Toronto: William Briggs, 1904. Pp. xii, 350. Map and illustrations.

Father Morice, already well known for his careful ethnological studies of the Dénés and other Pacific Coast Indians among whom he has laboured, gives the world a most interesting history of a part of British Columbia almost unknown before even to the British Columbians themselves. After an introduction treating of the region and its inhabitants come chapters on pre-European times, drawn from accounts of the oldest Indians, of Alexander Mackenzie's discovery of the Pacific, of the founding of trading-posts by the North-West Company and later by the Hudson's Bay Company and other pioneers, and finally of Anglican and Roman Catholic missions. The preliminary account of the Indians is as accurate as one would expect from so competent an authority, though his suggestion (p. 7) of intermarriage with Jews to account for some of their customs seems improbable.

The affairs of New Caledonia, as the district was called in early days by the fur-traders, are given with a curious but exceedingly interesting minuteness, many extracts from letters and the books kept at trading-posts being used to give a picture of the life of the few white traders surrounded by treacherous Indians and living like them on salmon and rabbits, with no flour or other farinaceous food.

Father Morice indulges in a number of tilts with former historians, such as Bryce and Bancroft, for whom he has evidently no very high respect; and his detailed story of life at frontier trading-posts is built up very convincingly and almost as elaborately and conscientiously as a novel by Tolstoi or Zola, each little fact reaching its proper place and being given its proper value.

The founding of the Catholic missions, beginning in 1842, and the wild rush to the goldfields of the thousands of adventurers who crowded in during the "sixties" are very graphically told, as well as both the follies and crimes and the good deeds of the white men and halfbreeds of the Hudson's Bay Company in their dealings with the Indians. Occasionally one is surprised by an unexpected phrase; such as "some of them *died game*," when Indians attack a pack train.

The last chapter is specially devoted to the Roman Catholic missions, and to the hardships of the early missionaries, and their success in Christianizing the wild tribes of the Babine and Skeena.

The book is distinctly worth reading, giving a good picture of the life and scenery of a part of British Columbia which will soon be opened up by the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, when much of the wild and picturesque must disappear. A little eddy of far-away life along the lakes and rivers and among the mountains of what was New Caledonia a generation ago is brought very vividly before us by Father Morice's pre-Raphaelite pictures.

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According to its editor, the *Year Book of British Columbia*\* after a somewhat chequered career, has proved its right to live, and will henceforth be published regularly. The present edition, although based upon that of 1897, yet contains the supplementary information required to bring it up to date. Not a few new chapters have been added. The physical

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\* *The Year Book of British Columbia and Manual of Provincial Information*. By R. E. Gosnell, Secretary Bureau Provincial Information, Victoria, B.C., 1903. Pp. 394.

features of the province, agriculture, mining, fisheries, and lumbering naturally make up the greater part of the volume. Many other important topics, however, such as education, the municipalities, taxation, railways, labour, politics, and trade are all adequately presented. It is promised that in subsequent editions of the Year Book about one hundred pages will be devoted to a systematic exposition of the original sources of British Columbia's history. It is to be hoped that from the outset these records will be free from the fatal tendency to error which has characterized some professedly authoritative historical publications in the older provinces. If any adverse criticism of the present edition may be offered, it is that the information, especially that relating to the greater industries, is not sufficiently condensed. As new material is added from year to year the book will become too bulky, unless some attempt is made to set forth more of the facts in purely statistical form. A remarkable feature of the work is the number and excellent quality of the illustrations. If exception be made of some half dozen Ministers, and of the ubiquitous *Beaver*, the illustrations help to make interesting the otherwise dry facts relating to the physical features and industries of the Pacific province. An extensive index, which has apparently been prepared with great care, adds to the practical value of the Year Book.

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*In the Pathless West*\* is the somewhat indefinite title of a volume from the pen of Mrs. Frances E. Herring, presenting some phases of pioneer life in British Columbia. The introductory part of the book describes the voyage from the homeland to the distant colony, a voyage enlivened by a dance and a theatrical performance, saddened by a mutiny and a burial at sea. There follows an account of colonial life in which weddings, funerals, concerts, and wars vie with one another in seeking the reader's attention. The closing chapters deal with

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\* *In the Pathless West, with Soldiers, Pioneers, Miners, and Savages.* By Frances E. Herring. London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1904. Pp. xiv, 240.



Indian life, and, while throwing no fresh light upon the subject, are not devoid of interest. Mrs. Herring is—the title page tells us—the author of “Canadian Camp Life,” “Among the People of British Columbia,” “A Pioneer Marriage in Alabama,” and “A Trip Round Puget Sound,” and has, moreover,—so says the appendix—another work in preparation, which is to be followed shortly by still another. Such an unusual output probably explains the signs of haste which are everywhere evident, in the author's latest work. The style throughout is far from being in keeping with a work which is not without value as a study in the social life of a pioneer community. Very frequently the author's meaning is anything but clear ; more frequently her style is marred by the use of commonplace phrases. Even the preface furnishes illustrations of these defects.

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A picturesque description of the now deserted mining town of Yale\* fills one with foreboding as to the future of even so prosperous a city as Dawson. At the height of its prosperity in the early sixties, Yale had a population of about 5000. Now the main street is a succession of empty and ruined stores, saloons and banks, from which it has not been worth while to remove even the expensive fixtures such as safes. A few Chinese continue to inhabit the town, for this singularly patient and frugal people find a profit in washing gold from places that the white miners abandoned long ago as exhausted. The Indian village at the north end of the old town is still occupied by a dwindling tribe of Siwashes, who get their living from the river as they have always done. A few railway employees, the postmaster, and a handful of old miners who have not had sufficient energy to move away constitute the white population. But Yale's day will come again. It is situated at one of the most picturesque and romantic spots on the Fraser river ; the railway touches there, and when the unsavoury Siwashes and their decaying heaps of salmon offal have been removed it is

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\* *Yale and the Fraser River Canyon.* By Frank Williamson. (*The Overland Monthly*, July, 1904, pp. 33-40.)

probable that the place will become a tourist's resort or even a refreshing place of refuge for the commerce-ridden people of Vancouver.

We call attention to the appearance of an elaborate *History of Oregon*,\* for it is the history of the western boundary between the United States and Canada. The present work is well printed and illustrated, but its chief merit is the admirable fairness of its tone. The founding of Astoria, the rivalries between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company, Lord Selkirk's work are all described, sometimes with considerable detail. The career of McLoughlin, the Canadian who ruled Oregon for nearly a quarter of a century on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, and also that of Marcus Whitman, the half legendary pioneer of American rule in Oregon have their due place in the narrative, as have also the events leading finally to the determination of the boundary. There is no recrimination or partizanship in the work ; it is history in the best present-day sense of the term.

In Mr. Thwaites's collection of reprints of *Early Western Travels* he has included the *Adventures of the first settlers on the Oregon or Columbia river*,† by Alexander Ross, who was a member of the expedition. This was John Jacob Astor's famous fur-trading enterprise, which was extinguished by the hostilities of 1813. Franchère's narrative of the expedition‡ is also reprinted in vol. vi (pp. 167-410) of the same series.

A reprint of the *Journal*\*\* of Gass, a companion of Lewis

\* *History of Oregon. The Growth of an American State.* By Horace G. Lyman. Four volumes. New York : The North Pacific Publishing Society, 1903.

† *Early Western Travels*, 1748-1846. Vol. vii. Cleveland : The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904. Pp. 332.

‡ *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast*, 1811-1814.

\*\* *Gass's Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.* By Sergeant Patrick Gass, one of the persons employed in the expedition. Reprinted from the edition of 1811, with facsimiles of the original title-page and the five original illustrations, a reproduction of a rare portrait of Gass, and a map of the Lewis and Clark route. With an analytical index and an introduction by James Kendall Hosmer. Chicago : A. C. McClurg & Co., 1904. Pp. liv, 298.

and Clark, is appropriately issued in the centennial year of the departure of that famous expedition, which bids fair to become to the great American nation what the voyage of the good ship Argo was to the Greeks. Sergeant Gass was a rugged frontiersman whose rough notes were licked into shape by a schoolmaster friend for publication in 1811. Except for its influence on the claim of the United States to the Oregon territory the expedition has nothing to do with Canada.

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#### IV. GEOGRAPHY, STATISTICS AND ECONOMICS

*Nordamerika.* Von Dr. Emil Deckert. Leipzig und Wien : Bibliographisches Institut, 1904. Pp. xii, 608. (Allgemeine Länderkunde, unter Mitarbeit von Dr. Emil Deckert, etc., herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Sievers. Zweite, gänzlich umgearbeitete und erneuerte Auflage.)

*North America.* By Israel C. Russell. London, Edinburgh and Glasgow : Henry Frowde, 1904. Pp. viii, 436.

The important geographical works by Dr. Deckert and Professor Russell on North America are strikingly dissimilar in aim and method. The latter has, as it were, taken certain topics in physical geography and expounded them, illustrating the subject exclusively from the geographical features of North America ; Dr. Deckert takes for granted all such preliminary instruction, and has drawn a geographical picture of the continent both more comprehensive and more detailed than Professor Russell. It is only fair to say, however, that Professor Russell's profound acquaintance with the principles of his science, and his great power of exposition, are shown to advantage in this, his latest book.

The processes of upheaval and erosion are exemplified on a grand scale in the south and west of the United States ; indeed the modern science of physical geography owes much to the object-lessons presented to geographers by the plateaus, mountains and rivers of that country. Professor Russell is familiar enough with the physical history and present appearance of the continent within the bounds of the United States. But the great northern area, comprised for the most part in Canada, receives very scanty treatment. The author's interest flags perceptibly whenever he has to touch upon this part of his subject, and apparently also his knowledge of it is imperfect. The Pacific mountain region of the continent is discussed in forty-eight pages, but of these the Canadian portion receives less than a page and a half, hardly adequate allowance for so vast and complicated a mountain system. It is true that large tracts in the extreme north of Canada, on either side of

Hudson Bay, are still unexplored, as well as part of British Columbia ; but by far the greater portion of the area of Canada has been made known in sufficient detail for the ordinary purposes of the geographer, and many interesting features in the natural history of the continent are peculiar to the Canadian regions. But Professor Russell has passed these over with slight comment. The Laurentian plateau, for instance, the nucleus of the continent, is very briefly described, and terms are used in alluding to it which are positively misleading, although it is impossible to suppose that Professor Russell does not thoroughly comprehend its character. Is there any real mountain system traceable in Labrador, apart from the doubtful range along the eastern coast near Hudson Strait ? Yet in describing the southern escarpment of the plateau Professor Russell speaks of the Laurentian or Laurentide mountains (p. 73), and again he refers to the western margin, where it disappears under the superimposed prairie plain, as the "Laurentian hills" (p. 101). Locally and popularly the bold escarpment of an elevated plateau may be known to the inhabitants of the lower level as mountains or hills, but a geographical treatise should not adopt such nomenclature, applying it moreover to another boundary of the same plateau where it is ludicrously inapplicable. In describing the Pacific mountain region he objects to the term "Coast range" being applied to the mountains in Canada so designated by Canadian geographers, and he goes so far as to assert that they are a direct northward extension of the Cascade mountains of the United States. This view is not accepted by geologists, and the late Dr. G. M. Dawson gave sufficient reasons for considering them a distinct uplift and entitled to a different name.

The chapters on Plant life, Animal life and the Aborigines are all interesting, but in these also it is the territory of the United States which engrosses the author's attention, and Canada as well as Mexico comes in for very brief notice. A picture of the ice-palace erected in Montreal in 1889 illustrates a remark in the text that "in certain cities, notably Montreal

and Quebec, what are termed ice palaces are built of blocks of ice and utilized for winter carnivals." This is the most particular reference made to the climate of eastern Canada. In describing the boreal forest the author states that it extends westward from Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Labrador, and that it is of small economic importance. As Nova Scotia is almost the most southerly part of Canada this description would throw all the eastern Canadian forest-clad area into the boreal region, which can hardly be Professor Russell's meaning. The moose is said to be only found now sparingly in the United States, but to hold its own in the wildest part of the Pacific mountains in Canada and Alaska. As a matter of fact the moose still holds its own not only in the Pacific mountains but in the forests of almost every province of Canada, from Atlantic to Pacific. These are a few instances of the treatment accorded to the northern half of North America in a book which professes to deal with the whole continent.

Dr. Deckert's work is open to none of the criticisms passed upon that of Professor Russell. It is a real contribution to regional geography, dealing satisfactorily with the broad aspects of continental structure and at the same time wonderfully exhaustive in its examination in detail of particular areas. Dr. Deckert's discussion of the Laurentian plateau is full and scientific, but he does not note, as we might expect, the significance of the series of great lakes, from Lake Huron to Great Bear Lake, which occur at the edge of the Archaean plateau. He gives due credit to the untiring efforts of Canadian explorers, most of them connected with the Geological Survey of Canada, who have added materially within the last twenty years to our knowledge of the great northern region. A portrait of the late Dr. George Dawson is fitly included in the half dozen pictures of explorers of the interior of the continent since the commencement of the 19th century.

There are surprisingly few mistakes. The Rebellion of 1869 is referred, with that of 1885, to the territories west of Manitoba instead of to Manitoba. "Fort Williams" occurs several times for Fort William.

The practice, in foreign geographical works, of translating the translatable names of rivers and other natural features is sometimes puzzling, sometimes incongruous. It is impossible to do it uniformly and there is no reason why it should be done at all. Dr. Deckert indulges himself sparingly, it is true, in these transformations of names, as a rule even retaining the word "river" instead of giving the German equivalent, Fluss. But occasionally he startles us with an unfamiliar name such as Hasenfell-Indianer-Fluss, and on one of the maps we read Friedens-Fluss in place of the expected Peace River.

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The recognition of the important influence exercised by the natural features of a country upon its history has found expression in the last few years in a number of historical geographies of varying value. The latest of these by Mr. George\* is admirably concise and well written. Within some thirty pages the course of Canadian history is outlined so far as geography affected it. The isolated position of Acadia is shown to have rendered it easily detachable from Canada, and therefore it was the first of the French possessions to be acquired by England. The lines of attack upon Canada from the south, by Lake Champlain and the Niagara district, are explained by the existence of the two breaches in the rampart of the Alleghanies, where it is crossed by the upper Hudson and the Mohawk river valleys. The later development of Canada is connected similarly with geographical peculiarities. Mr. George's history is unimpeachable but he is not so safe a guide in matters of geography. Hudson Bay is a vast inlet, not from the Arctic but from the Atlantic ocean. Winnipeg is not situated at the southern end of the lake of that name, but on the Red river, forty miles from Lake Winnipeg. These are slight errors however, and do not affect the general soundness of the author's conception of Canadian geography.

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\* *A Historical Geography of the British Empire.* By Hereford B. George. London : Methuen & Co. [1904]. Pp. xii, 312.

In the series of geography readers entitled *The World and its People*,\* the volume on America is said to be written "with special reference to British Colonies." So far as the section on Canada is concerned, it is a very creditable piece of work. A great deal of information about Canada is compressed into sixty odd pages and it is put in an interesting way. Some inaccuracies occur. "Prairie, the Indian name for meadows" is an astonishing blunder either of the author or the proof-reader. The note to the name Sault Ste. Marie, "pronounced *Soo*," is also lamentable; what would the author say of a geography of England which gave "Lunnon" as the orthodox pronunciation of London? To anybody who has ever seen the Falls of Niagara the statement that visitors may walk under and behind the Horseshoe Fall will seem a trifle exaggerated. The description of the dangers that beset the traveller on his journey to the Klondike would have been accurate enough five years ago; the existence of the White Pass Railway, which has been in operation since 1901, seems to be unknown to the author. Champlain should have been credited with his explorations up the valley of the Ottawa river as well as the St. Lawrence. "Bluffs of poplar and willow" is a new and quite unprecedented use of the word "bluff." The coloured illustrations are somewhat dazzling.

As an attempt at popularizing knowledge of present conditions in Canada Mr. A. L. Haydon's little book\* is worthy of praise. He gives a brief sketch of the history of the country, followed by very discursive chapters on the different provinces and some account of the characteristic industries. It is obvious that where the scope of so small a book includes history, geography, scenery, natural resources, sports, and economics,

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\* *The World and its People, a new series of Geography Readers : America, with special reference to British colonies.* Toronto : George N. Morang & Co., Ltd.; Thomas Nelson & Sons, London, Edinburgh, and New York, [1904.] Pp. 286.

\* *Canada, Britain's largest colony ; with a chapter on Newfoundland and Labrador.* By A. L. Haydon. With an introduction by Lord Strathcona. London, Paris, New York, and Melbourne : Cassel & Company, Limited, 1904. Pp. xii, 206.



it is not to be expected that the information given will be exhaustive. It is unfortunately not always accurate. The seigneurial system was not abolished in 1840. Upper Canada College, Toronto, is not a private school. There are however few slips of this kind.

The immigration pamphlet entitled *Geography of the Dominion of Canada*\* is well done. A great deal of geographical and statistical information is put together in attractive form, with maps, diagrams, illustrations, and tables scattered through the text. We have noted no actual inaccuracies. An unfortunate use of the word "it" makes nonsense of a sentence in the description of the physical divisions of Canada, and a statement that the Rocky Mountains protect British Columbia from the cold east winds betrays some confusion of thought as to the causes of the climate of that province. By far the greater part of the pamphlet is taken up with statistical information on the condition of agriculture in the various provinces and especially in Manitoba and the territories, the object of the publication being to attract immigrants into western Canada.

*A Survey of the British Empire*† is an instance of a type of book that is becoming very common, the school text-book designed to give some notion of the British Empire as a whole. In the 28 pages allotted to British North America all the principal facts in the history, geography, and economic production of Canada are given, but in very condensed form. The only error we have noted is the spelling "Louisburg."

Mr. Charles G. D. Roberts succeeds surprisingly well in treating so large a subject as *Discoveries and Explorations in the [nineteenth] century*‡ within the limits of a single volume.

\* *Geography of the Dominion of Canada and Atlas of Western Canada*. Ottawa [1904]. Pp. 64.

† *A Survey of the British Empire, historical, geographical, and commercial*. London : Blackie & Son, 1904. Pp. 352.

‡ *Discoveries and Explorations in the Century*. By Charles G. D. Roberts. London, Toronto, Philadelphia : The Linscott Publishing Company, 1904. Pp. xvi, 530. (The Nineteenth Century Series, vol. xiv.)

The section on Arctic Explorations has to do principally with the efforts to find a north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans and with the series of expeditions sent out to find Franklin. Mr. Roberts writes with enthusiasm on this subject and has given a very interesting account of it. The section relating to other explorations on Canadian soil is not so successful, mainly because it deals with a series of detached enterprises, varying in every particular, while the narrative of Arctic exploration is for the most part an account of a single design carried out in a succession of similar expeditions. All the explorations of importance and their principal results are briefly enumerated.

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Mr. Thwaites's *History of Rocky Mountain Exploration*\* is not very happily named. The book is both more and less than its title implies. The wonderful expedition of Coronado in search of the "seven cities of Cibola" and their golden treasure has more to do with the exploration of the prairies than of the mountains. The fur-trading and military ventures of La Vérendrye were pushed to within sight of the Rocky Mountains, but in no sense did he explore them. The early attempts to find the elusive north-west passage into the Pacific by way of Hudson Bay had nothing to do with the mountains. Carver never saw them; Hearne never saw them. Yet all these expeditions are discussed in Mr. Thwaites's *History*. On the other hand the record of discovery in the Canadian portion of the Rocky Mountains is very meagre. The venturesome journeys of Mackenzie, Thompson and Fraser are briefly described, but no subsequent explorations are so much as mentioned. Even the enumeration of the railways that cross the Rocky Mountains is incomplete by the omission of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Whatever may be the merits of the book as a history of exploration

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\* *A Brief History of Rocky Mountain Exploration, with Especial Reference to the Expedition of Lewis and Clark.* By Reuben Gold Thwaites. New York: G.D. Appleton and Company, 1904. Pp. xiv, 276. With illustrations and maps.

within United States territory, it cannot be commended as a record of what has been done in the Canadian Rocky Mountains. The subject, in truth, is too vast to be treated within the limits of one small volume, as Mr. Thwaites admits in his preface. It is a pity, therefore, that he attempted to include any account of the explorations in Canadian territory. The material for such an account is abundant enough; the reports of the surveys undertaken for the Canadian Pacific Railway are full of interest in this connection, and the earlier accounts of gold discoveries in the Cariboo and Cassiar districts are also fruitful sources of information, but Mr. Thwaites does not appear to have consulted them.

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*Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, a series of annotated reprints.* Edited with notes, introductions, index, etc., by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Volume ii: *John Long's Journal, 1768-1782.* Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904. Pp. 330.

*A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America.* By Daniel Williams Harmon. Toronto: George N. Morang & Co., Limited, 1904. Pp. xxiv, 382. Map.

*The Great North-West and the Great Lake region of North America.* By Paul Fountain. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904. Pp. viii, 356.

The narratives of the early fur-traders, who were also in some measure explorers of the great Canadian wilderness of wood and water in the north and north-west, will always be interesting reading, and new editions, whether critical or popular, are welcome. We have already noted\* certain volumes of the series of "Early Western Travels," issued under the editorship of Mr. R. G. Thwaites; these are instances of the critical reprint. Mr. Thwaites is well known as a writer of ability and good judgment. His edition of the Jesuit Relations, though too hastily done not to be defective in some respects, is a masterpiece in its way, and his many contributions to the early history of the north-western States are sound and scholarly.

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\* *Supra*, p. 133.

In the volume before us of this new series, however, it is plain that Mr. Thwaites is on unfamiliar ground. John Long's remarkable career in Canada was run practically within the twenty years that followed the cession of Canada to England, and in that time he played many parts. He was soldier, Indian interpreter, and fur-trader by turns, and incidentally an explorer and a student of native manners and customs. Wherever in his narrative Long touches upon incidents in the American Revolutionary War or refers to earlier events in the contest of French and English for supremacy in North America, Mr. Thwaites has copious annotations which show that he is well read in the history of those struggles. But Long's remarkable travels in the northern interior, from Lake Nipigon to the Saguenay, are left without any attempt at elucidation, although a sort of apology is twice given on the ground that the country he describes is almost uninhabitable and as undeveloped now as it was then. This is disappointing in a professedly critical edition. Granted that Long's method of measuring distances, by day's marches or canoe journeys, is loose and inaccurate, yet his descriptions of localities are clear and definite, and by the aid of later narratives of explorations in the same country his topography might have been checked and his journeys traced to some extent on a modern map. There has been no attempt to do this, apparently, and there is nothing to show that Mr. Thwaites is acquainted with the results of the later explorations in the same country. In all other respects this edition is worthy of praise. The book-making is unexceptionable; paper, type and binding are all admirable. The pagination of the original edition is marked, and the whole of that volume is reprinted, including the Indian vocabularies, which make it especially interesting to philologists.

Mr. Thwaites in a preface gives a general estimate of Long's adventures and of his narrative in terms with which everybody must agree. The shocking debauchery of the Indians which the Canadian free-traders introduced, rum being prac-

tically the only commodity bartered for furs, is testified to by every trader and traveller that has left a written record of his experiences, and Long's frank descriptions are hardly more instructive than those of Harmon, for instance. The savagery of the Indians as revealed by Long is perhaps less degraded than Mr. Thwaites seems to think. Under the influence of strong drink, no doubt the Indians were capable of any cruelty and villainy, but in their ordinary mode of life they appear to have been on a much higher plane than savages of a really degraded type, such as some of the African tribes. The position of their women, for instance, was by no means so low as seems to be implied by the fact that the drudgery of the camp was left entirely to them. Instances of consideration to the women are noted by Long, also many cases, unfortunately, of the equal terms on which the two sexes brawled and fought when a drinking-bout was in progress; and finally the method of Indian courtship which he describes is very superior to the bargain and sale of daughters which obtains so widely in the lower stages of civilization. Long himself, a keen-witted man of some education, as his book shows, avowedly preferred the society of the Indian to that of the French-Canadian. He would hardly have felt so much at home with them if they had not possessed mental and moral characteristics superior to those of mere savages.

Ample justice is done by Mr. Thwaites to the vigour and clearness of Long's style. It is remarkable also for a certain literary finish, which is hard to account for when the circumstances in which he passed his mature life are considered. No doubt he had the gift of expression, as his early proficiency in the Indian languages testifies, and it is possible that a judicious literary friend may have revised the manuscript to remove palpable errors in English. But if so, the revision must have been limited to grammatical blunders; the freshness and individuality of the style are unimpaired. One quaint euphemism for death habitually used by Long is "to change one's climate." It looks at first like a mere flippancy, but

he uses it in all seriousness. It would be interesting to know if the expression has its counterpart in one of the Indian languages familiar to him, or was a mere piece of trader's slang.

A fur-trader somewhat later in point of time was Daniel Harmon, whose Journal has been reprinted in handy popular form without annotations. It begins in 1801 and ends in 1821. Harmon's ventures were in the western regions of British North America, and the Indians whom he knew were chiefly of other tribes than those of Long's acquaintance. The period of the free-traders also was past, and Harmon was in the employ of the North-west Company. But the abominable barter of rum for furs continued, and the scenes of drunken revelry to which he refers are identical with those of Long's narrative. The value of Harmon's Journal is somewhat lessened by the fact that it owes its present form to the efforts of a literary editor to whom Harmon had given it for purposes of publication. The Reverend Daniel Haskel seems to have rewritten the entire Journal to suit his notions of style, and the result is a colourless narrative in unexceptionable English, but quite without either distinction or individuality.

Harmon's knowledge of the Indian character was probably as intimate as that of Long, and all that he has to say on the subject is worthy of attention. He lived for nineteen years in constant communication with Indians of various tribes and his skill in dealing with them was tested on many critical occasions. One of these is described by him at some length (pp. 172-177), and reveals him as a man of courage and resource. In spite of his manifest insight into Indian character he does not appear to have much sympathy with them, far less does he choose them for companions as did Long. On the whole the picture which he draws of them is more unfavourable than that of Long, which may be accounted for by the fact that they had been just twenty years longer exposed to the demoralizing influence of the fur-traders. And yet, like Long, he seems to despise his French-Canadian associates even more than the savages. "Of all the people

in the world, I think the Canadians, when drunk, are the most disagreeable.....Indeed, I had rather have fifty drunken Indians in the fort, than five drunken Canadians" (p. 73). And again, "During the greater part of the summer, I shall be, in a great measure, alone; for ignorant Canadians furnish little society" (p. 75). The next sentence marks one great distinction between Harmon and Long—"Happily for me, I have lifeless friends, my books, that will never abandon me, until I first neglect them." It is singular that Harmon, the lover of books, should be at so great a disadvantage when it came to writing his own book, as compared with Long, the reckless comrade of savages, who seems to have spent his leisure time in learning the Indian dances.

There are many facts noted by Harmon that open up questions of great interest. As one of the earliest white men to visit the Peace river district, his observations on its climate and agricultural capabilities have peculiar value at present when the tide of emigration seems to be setting that way. The crops of potatoes and barley which he raised there were highly satisfactory, and he expresses the opinion that wheat could also be grown, although he does not appear to have experimented with it.

The salmon-run in the rivers of "New Caledonia," as the northern part of British Columbia was called in those days, did not occur as usual in one of the seasons that he spent in that neighbourhood. The intermission seems to have had no effect upon the supply of salmon in the following year. He mentions that Iroquois Indians were in the habit of coming to the Peace river district and even to the west side of the Rocky Mountains to hunt. It seems extraordinary that any Indians of that nation should have made so prodigious a journey from their own region, and equally strange that the prairie Indians should not have intercepted and slain any wanderers who might have been so venturesome. The British Columbia Indians did, as he relates, put to death one family of intruders, but east of the mountains the prestige of the

Iroquois name seems to have overawed the prairie tribes\*. As a member of the North-West Company, Harmon of course is hostile to the Hudson's Bay Company, and his account of the conflicts which signalized the establishment of Lord Selkirk's colonists on the Red river is a good specimen of how far from the truth a partizan narrative may be.

The third book at the head of these pages was published during 1904 and written not long before, but it relates to adventures which occurred nearly forty years ago. Mr. Paul Fountain is well known as a naturalist explorer who has already given to the world volumes descriptive of his adventures in both North and South America. In this, his latest book, he recalls his first adventures in the uninhabited regions of the earth. To some extent the country described in these recollections is the same as that of Long's fur-trading experiences, and he also visited the prairie region which was the scene of Harmon's first employment by the North-West Company. A greater degree of civilization among his Indians, and a cessation of the abominable liquor traffic with them, are perhaps the chief marks of difference between his adventures and those of his predecessors. The country itself had remained substantially unchanged. One recurring experience is common to all three travellers, the necessity of successful hunting to avert starvation. Harmon in his Journal repeatedly jots down some expression of pious thankfulness that a timely return of hunters or meeting with friendly Indians relieved his party from danger of starvation. Mr. Fountain also at his winter encampment north-east of Lake Winnipeg was more than once in great straits for food. The struggle for mere existence was and no doubt still is the absorbing occupation of all dwellers in the northern and western wilds.

In Mr. Fountain's book the reader will occasionally be puzzled to make out whether he is recording observations of

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\* On this interesting subject see also our reviewer's remarks, page 180, *infra*.



forty years ago, the date of the adventures described, or the conditions that he believes to exist to-day. Some of his statements, however, are hardly admissible on either supposition. When, for instance, was it true that tree-felling "is mostly performed by hand-saws" ? (p. 183). And what has been the source of his information as to the extermination of the moose in the northern highlands ? "Probably," he says, "there are not a thousand head left in the entire country I have been treating of" (p. 143), a country, be it remembered, extending from Lake Winnipeg to the upper Ottawa river. For sheer exaggeration, that may almost be termed poetic, we commend his assurance (p. 75) that he "often flew down the rapids at the rate of fifty or sixty miles an hour." A refreshing contempt for the political changes that have overtaken the scene of his early wanderings is displayed by his ignorance of the extent of territory signified by the names Winnipeg and Manitoba respectively (p. 71). Some of his spellings of proper names betray equal indifference to the usage of geographers and others of this degenerate age, viz., Seauteaux, Wipite, Trois Rivers, Rain river, Muskinongis.

But Mr. Fountain is primarily a naturalist and a lover of nature, and his genuine appreciation of wild nature more than makes up to the reader for his occasional inaccuracies and carelessness of statement. His appeal to sportsmen to avoid unnecessary slaughter of wild animals is such as must touch a responsive chord in the heart of every genuine sportsman.

"The man who would not be considered a public enemy ought to shoot, however remote the hurting-ground, with moderation. There are others to come after him ; and a world denuded of wild creatures would be a spoiled world."

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*Sport and Travel in the Northland of Canada.* By David T. Hanbury. London : Edward Arnold, 1904. Pp. xxxii, 312.

A paper contributed to the *Geographical Journal*\* for 1903 by Mr. Hanbury gave a brief summary of the explorations conducted by him in the Barren Grounds and along the Arctic

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\* See Review, vol. viii, pp. 178-179.

coast in the year 1902, and he mentioned in that paper the chief geographical result achieved by him, viz., the discovery of the long inlet from the west which almost altogether converts Kent Peninsula into an island. He has no other geographical facts of equal importance to make known in his book, although the account of his search for the head waters of the Dease river supplies new material for more accurate mapping of that region.

It was not, however, for the purpose of scientific exploration that Mr. Hanbury made his adventurous and successful journey, but, as the title-page of his book modestly indicates, for the pleasures of sport and out of sheer delight in the migratory life of the Eskimos. The book is therefore chiefly valuable for the light it throws upon the habits of the caribou and other wild animals and for the intimate acquaintance which it reveals with the mental and moral characteristics of the "Huskies", as the author prefers to call them. The Eskimos are his favourite savages. He appreciates and understands them, and evidently knows how to manage them. For Indians on the contrary he has a thorough contempt, not always consistent with "sweet reasonableness." For instance, when some Indians at Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake had been engaged to accompany him to the navigable waters of the upper Thelon or Ark-i-linik river, and asked permission to defer their start until next day that they might receive the sacrament before their departure, he makes the following somewhat inconsequent reflection.

"I had thus three hours in the morning to muse on the ways of the Indians. They may be good Christians ; I do not know ; but notwithstanding the labours of missionaries, they are Indians still, and the return for the time, trouble, and money expended on them seemed to me very inadequate."

Among the points of superiority of the Eskimos to Indians he notes their cheerfulness, helpfulness, manual dexterity and honesty ; they are "far ahead of Indians in intelligence," and they are "really fond of music." Mr. Hanbury's narrative certainly bears out these statements. There is only one instance in his experiences of dishonesty on the part of an Eskimo

and that was when a stranger whom they met and who accompanied them for a short distance was found to have appropriated a steel snow-knife at his departure from them ; but even in this instance the dishonesty was more in the nature of a compulsory "trade," for he left his own copper snow-knife behind in exchange. The author gives a remarkable example of Eskimo scrupulosity in carrying out bargains. In order to lighten the load of *impedimenta* with which he began his journey to the Arctic coast, Mr. Hanbury decided to leave behind with the families of his two native guides the goods which he had arranged that they were to receive in payment for their services. He admits that he should not have been so confiding with any chance Eskimos, but he was satisfied that he could count upon the integrity of these two men, nor had he the slightest cause to regret his action. During the whole of the long and arduous journey which occupied more than six months, across the Barren Grounds from the Thelon river, westward along the Arctic coast, and finally up the Coppermine river and across the height of land to the headwaters of the Dease river, his Eskimo attendants accompanied him with the utmost cheerfulness and zeal, knowing all the while that payment for their services had already been made beyond recall. It is safe to say that Indians would have deserted him under these circumstances. It is probable that few Eskimos even could have been trusted so absolutely, but the incident shows an integrity that must be to some extent racial.

The habits of the caribou have not yet been satisfactorily investigated. It is a prevalent opinion that the vast herds emigrate to the north in the summer and return to the shelter of the northern forest for the winter. There is no doubt that migration of this kind does occur to some extent, for the crossing-places of certain rivers and lakes are known to the Indians, who lie in wait there at the appropriate season. On the other hand, as Mr. Hanbury points out, there can be nothing regular about such migrations, for in certain seasons the expected herd entirely fails to put in an appearance at the

crossing-place, and the Indians starve in consequence. Also, the author was informed by Eskimos of the Arctic coast, and had evidence of his own eyes to the same effect, that caribou remain in the neighbourhood of Kent peninsula and at other points along the northern coast the entire winter.

Mr. Hanbury has his own notions of how rivers and lakes in new countries should be named, and in spite of the fact that the official designation of the great river flowing from the west into Chesterfield Inlet has long since been settled to be Thelon river, he continues to call it Ark-i-linik.

The first chapter of the book is a repetition of a paper in the *Geographical Magazine* of 1900\* describing a summer expedition in 1899, and except that it describes in part the same region has little relation to the rest of the narrative. It is a brief summary, while the later expedition is described very fully, the notes taken *en route* day by day being expanded and connected, and explanations and discussions inserted in appropriate places. The great advantage of such a record is its evident faithfulness. Opinions and forecasts, even when subsequently falsified, are allowed to stand just as they were entered in the diary at the time. The disadvantage of this species of expanded diary is that when the days were uneventful or the routine unvaried, the narrative tends to become tedious. This criticism is chiefly to be made against the record of his winter journeys. The face of nature is then monotonous, and a journey made by compass across a waste of snow and ice leaves little room for surprises. On the other hand, from the time he reaches the Arctic coast to his emergence from unknown country at Great Bear Lake, his narrative continually grows in interest, and we part with him with great regret on the confines of civilization at Fort Norway.

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In Mr. Dowling's *Report on an exploration of Ekwán river*†

\* See Review vol. v, p. 148.

† *Report on an exploration of Ekwán River, Sutton Mill lakes, and part of the west coast of James bay.* By D. B. Dowling. Ottawa, 1904. Pp. 60. (Geological Survey of Canada, Part F, Annual Report, vol. xiv.)

we have an attempt at an accurate mapping of the region immediately west of James bay.

"The topography of this coast and of the western side of James bay has been but roughly sketched by these navigators [of the 18th century] and little altered by subsequent ones. The streams draining to Hudson bay, as also those flowing eastward, were mapped from sketches made by various officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. . . . These sketches were no doubt supplied to Arrowsmith, and were since reproduced on all the maps of this district" (p. 14).

The descriptions of the river valley and of the coast will be interesting to geographers and to others who have already made acquaintance with the region in question.

An account of the determination of the boundary-line between British Columbia and Yukon in 1901 is given in *Globus*.<sup>\*</sup> The author condenses his narrative from the official Report of the surveyor in charge of the expedition. The line, the 60th parallel of latitude, had to be surveyed over glaciers and mountains of no mean height, and it was an operation of considerable difficulty. Some fair illustrations and an excellent map of the boundary district are included.

Another book of early Klondike experiences! Mr. Lynch,<sup>†</sup> a Californian of means and position, arrived at Dawson in the summer of 1898. As the first discoveries of gold in the Klondike valley were made in August of 1896, Mr. Lynch found a mining town not two years old, unpaved and insanitary, crowded with adventurers of every nation, in fact still a typical "tough" mining-camp, except that lawlessness and crime were sternly repressed by the vigilant Mounted Police. He spent the following winter in the town, making expeditions to the gold-bearing creeks, examining mines and studying the methods of working them. Early in the spring of 1899 he bought a claim which he believed would repay him and set himself at once to develop it thoroughly. Being a capitalist he was able to exploit his property in the most approved fashion,

<sup>\*</sup> *Die Grenze zwischen Britisch-Columbia und dem Kanadischen Yukongebiete.* Von R. Bach. (*Globus*, 23 Juni, 1904, pp. 379-383.)

<sup>†</sup> *Three Years in the Klondike.* By Jeremiah Lynch. London : Edward Arnold, 1904. Pp. 280. Illustrations.

employing from fifty to a hundred men according to the season ; he was one of the first to use steam for thawing and disintegrating the frozen gravel. By the end of the summer of 1901 he had exhausted his mine and returned to civilized life, presumably with a handsome fortune. During his stay he had seen Dawson transformed into a paved, sewaged, well built, well lighted city, and the streets, no longer thronged with rough-mannered miners and adventurers, had become the promenade of well dressed business men and ladies (real ladies !) intent on shopping. As one of the earliest of the new species of Klondike miner, he is able to give an account of the transition that took place, largely owing to the enterprise of men of his own stamp, and the book is an interesting addition to Klondike literature.

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In the account of the Reverend E. J. Peck's missionary labours among the Eskimos\* a good deal of interesting information is given about the habits and characteristics of that people, derived apparently from the diaries and note-books of Mr. Peck. There is nothing that is absolutely new, except perhaps the proof of their high average intelligence in the facility with which they learned to read the Syllabic characters invented by Evans. Mr. Peck had transcribed his translations of the Gospels into their language in that convenient notation, and he records the most amazing progress made by Eskimos of all ages in reading them. In some instances a couple of weeks' instruction sufficed to enable a native to decipher texts and extracts from the New Testament, and in little more than two years from the time he began his ministrations to the forty families of Eskimos whose head-quarters were at Little Whale river he notes that "they can all, with few exceptions, read their books." It is interesting to see that the same facility in reading their language in the Syllabic notation is credited to the Indians of the Pacific coast by Father Morice(*infra*, p. 182).

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\* *The Life and Work of the Rev. E. J. Peck among the Eskimos.* By the Rev. Arthur Lewis. London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1904. Pp. xvi, 350.

Mr. Peck's wisdom in beginning at once with teaching the natives to read is shown by another extract from his diary.

"Experience teaches me that those who have no help while away from the means of teaching generally fall back into their former state of ignorance. With those Eskimos who can read God's Word for themselves I find a great difference."

Mr. Peck's labours at first centred at Little Whale river, and he once (in 1884) made a venturesome overland journey to Ungava bay, which was deemed worthy of a note in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for 1887. His zeal however led him away from such comparatively accessible regions, and in 1894 along with another missionary he established himself at Blacklead island on Cumberland Sound, far to the north of Hudson Strait, among Eskimos whom he had hitherto been quite unable to reach. Here, almost within the Arctic Circle, Mr. Peck has lived for ten years, engaged in missionary work among the Eskimos of Baffin Land. A more self-sacrificing life can hardly be imagined. He has a wife and children in England, whom he sees at the occasional times when he allows himself the luxury of a visit to that country for rest or to superintend the printing of his Eskimo Bible ; but, although his health is not as robust as it was, he remains at his post and doubtless will die among his Eskimo converts as one of his faithful fellow-missionaries has already died. The touching story of his devoted life is deeply impressive.

A beautifully printed little volume containing extracts from Walt Whitman's diaries and note-books\* will be much prized by lovers of the poet. More than half the book is a fragmentary diary of a tour in Canada extending over two months of the summer of 1880. He spent most of the time in London, Ontario, at the house of his friend, the late Dr. Bucke, but he also made the journey by water from Toronto to the Saguenay and back. He shows himself most appreciative of the natural beauties of the country, and breaks out into truly poetic ecstasies over

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\* *Walt Whitman's Diary in Canada, with extracts from other of his diaries and literary note-books.* Edited by William Sloane Kennedy. Boston : Small, Maynard & Company, 1904. Pp. vi, 74.

birds and starry nights. In characteristic style he looks forward to the possibilities of the land as the nursing mother of millions of men and women of an "improved grand race," adding, "The summers, the winters—I have sometimes doubted whether there could be a great race without the hardy influence of winters in due proportion."

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*The Statistical Year-book of Canada, for 1903.* Issued by the Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, 1904. Pp. 773.

This volume grows in bulk, though many of its tables only grow "line upon line," yearly. This year 44 pages are added. Of the new matter, we note that 12 pages are devoted to Manufactures, and to the results given by the comparison of the Censuses of 1891 and 1901. The capital invested increased from \$296,000,000 to \$441,000,000, the number of employees from 269,000 to 306,000, and the value of products from \$359,000,000 to \$452,000,000.

The section devoted to Education is also increased by material derived from the last census. The Editor emphasizes the fact that there has been an absolute decrease in the number of illiterates in ten years in the population of Canada, of 4.85 illiterates over five years of age in every group of 100. The largest decrease has taken place in the North-West Territories and in the province of Quebec. Excluding those under five years, the percentage in Quebec has decreased from 26.27 in 1891 to 15.16 in 1901. In the Dominion in 1891 there were 10.14 per cent. of illiterates. This has been reduced in 1901 to 7.85. In 1903 the Public School expenditure per head of the population in the Dominion was \$2.03 (including the North-West Territories). In Ontario it is only \$2.20. In Manitoba it was \$5.22, the highest in Canada, British Columbia with \$2.96 coming next. In Ontario the cost per pupil in the Public Schools has increased from \$12.82 in 1880 to \$18.45 in 1903. The Public School population, between 5 and 21, has decreased steadily from 617,856 in 1890 to 584,412 in 1902. Of these,



496,565 and 454,088 pupils respectively were on the roll ; and the average attendance was highest in 1897, viz. 273,544; in 1902 it was 261,480. Thus the average attendance is uniformly less than 50 per cent. of the number on the roll,—not a satisfactory state of affairs with an increasing cost of education to the State. The cost per pupil in the High Schools has ranged, during the same period, from \$60.88 to \$47.57. It was \$57.09 in 1880 and \$53.34 in 1903. The average number in attendance in 1902 was 14,430, and the number on the roll 24,472. The number has doubled in thirteen years.

From the Post Office Statistics it may be noted that the number of letters per head of population is greatest in British Columbia, 71.16. Ontario comes next with 52.97; Manitoba and the North-West Territories are next with 43.76. According to the Statesman's Year-Book, the corresponding figures for England and the United Kingdom are 67 and 61. For the first time since Confederation the postal revenue has exceeded the expenditure, and this by \$292,654,—a fact to which, with the many reforms instituted since 1896 in the service under the administration of a former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Toronto, we may point with considerable pride.

Perhaps the most interesting table is that of Immigration, coupled with the expenditure thereon. The total number of declared settlers who arrived in Canada during the years 1898-1903 is given, ranging from 23,898 in 1900 to 128,364 in 1903. In the latter year 49,473 came from the United States, and 42,752 from Great Britain and Ireland. The cost per head has decreased from \$18.10 in 1900 to \$5 in 1903.

Canada's trade relations may be studied in the extensive section devoted to Trade and Commerce. In 1903 the value of imports from Great Britain was \$59,000,000, or 24.49 per cent. of the whole, and the corresponding exports \$131,000,000, i.e., 58.09 per cent.; while the imports and exports from and to the United States were respectively \$144,750,000, or 60.01 per cent. of the whole, and \$71,750,000, or 31.79 per cent. In 1873 the exports to Great Britain were only \$38,750,000, and to the

United States \$42,000,000. In 1883 the corresponding figures were,—Great Britain, \$47,000,000, United States, \$41,500,000. In 1893, Great Britain \$64,000,000 ; United States, \$44,000,000 ; an excess of \$20,000,000 in favour of the Mother Country. Now it is \$60,000,000. In 1902 the excess was \$46,000,000. This section of the Year-Book contains the most elaborate tables and information.

In the statistics of Railways, we again observe that the somewhat misleading statement of the percentage of net income to capital, share and preferential, (for 1903, 5.91 per cent., etc.) is adhered to, without taking into account the interest on bonded indebtedness, which must be paid before anything is available with which to pay interest on capital, either share or preferential. The bonded debt is given as \$424,000,000, and the net income \$28,500,000. At 5 per cent. the interest on the bonded debt would amount to over \$21,000,000, leaving about \$7,300,000 with which to pay interest on the capital, share and preferential, of \$483,750,000,—about 1½ per cent.—showing that no interest is paid at all on much of the capital.

ANGUS MACMURCHY.

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Considerable space is allotted to Canada in the *Encyclopedia Americana*.\* A section of the fourth volume is headed "Department of Canadian History and Development", and contains separate signed articles by prominent Canadian specialists such as Professor Wrong, Mr. H. P. Biggar, Professor Colby, Mr. Doughty, Professor MacMechan, Mr. Goldwin Smith and President Loudon. Perhaps the subdivision of subjects is carried a little too far. It is difficult to see, for instance, why half a dozen columns on "The Trade of the British Empire" should be inserted under Canada; and the separate discussions on "The British Preferential Tariff" and "Reciprocity between Canada and the United States" are justified only by the political interest that at present attaches to both questions. There

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\* *The Encyclopedia Americana*. Frederick Converse Beach, Editor-in-chief. Sixteen volumes. New York & Chicago : The Americana Company. [1904.]

is necessarily a good deal of overlapping. The article on "Canadian Universities" might with advantage have been consolidated with that on "Higher Education," since they both treat of the same subject although from different standpoints. Nor is it easy to see the object of an article on "Public Education" immediately following a group of articles on "Primary," "Secondary" and "Higher Education," which surely cover the ground sufficiently. Even in the purely historical articles there is much, apparently unavoidable, repetition. The whole of the period and movement discussed by Mr. Goldwin Smith ("Confederation") is necessarily treated as well in a preceding article, "Under British Rule to Confederation," by Professor C. W. Colby. We should not willingly be without the excellent contribution by the venerable Oxford historian, but its presence illustrates a defect of method in the allotment of the subjects. Nevertheless, our criticism is directed at the plan only ; the articles themselves are without exception valuable contributions to the study of Canadian history and present conditions. It is a sign of the times that Canada should be given more space in the Encyclopedia than some of the great States of Europe.

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*Canada's Resources and Possibilities, with special reference to the Iron and allied industries and the increase of trade with the mother country.* By J. Stephen Jeans. London : Offices of the British Iron Trade Association, 1904. Pp. xii, 291. Illustrated.

The purpose of this work, the author tells us, is three-fold : it is intended to provide information as to the actual resources of Canada, to enable the reader to understand her commercial features and economic system, and finally to throw light on the problems now arising in connection with the fiscal system of the Empire. Mr. Jeans has had especial opportunities for a task of this character. In 1890 he was one of the two persons in charge of a party of members of the British Iron and Steel Institute which made a tour in Ontario and Quebec. In 1903 he was a delegate of the British Iron Trade at the con-

gress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire held in Montreal. It is of course with the iron and steel industry that the author is most concerned, and to this leading factor in Canada's economic future and industrial progress he devotes especial attention. The present situation of the iron trade between Canada and the mother country seems to the author to deserve a very careful consideration.

"In no other market," he writes, "has the British manufacturer been so seriously displaced by his rivals as in that of Canada. Within the last twenty years, the proportion of the total iron and steel imports of Canada contributed by the mother country has fallen from more than 70 per cent. to less than 25 per cent. If Great Britain were to-day supplying Canada with as large a share of her total demands as she was twenty years ago, the tonnage annually furnished by the mother country would probably be nearly 600,000 tons, which is equal to about 17 per cent. of our total annual iron and steel exports. Instead of that we supplied Canada in 1902 with less than 200,000 tons."

While giving prominence however to the economic problems connected with the production of iron and steel, the work is by no means confined to this topic and presents an admirable general survey of the resources and present development of Canada. In order to impress upon the minds of his English readers the vast extent and possibilities of the Dominion, Mr. Jeans in his opening chapters illustrates the size of Canadian territory and growth of Canadian population in a series of original diagrams, very happily conceived. In the general comparison which is instituted between Canada and the United States several advantages are indicated in favour of the Dominion. Eastward the Canadian territory extends two hundred miles further into the Atlantic than that of the United States, while the homogeneous character of the population of all except Lower Canada is a circumstance favourable to industrial growth. Of the French-Canadian population Mr. Jeans writes,

"Canada has its cross to bear like other nations. . . . The Canadian French are a law-abiding people, and there is no reason to doubt that they are fairly loyal. But they are not enterprising : they are satisfied to lead an unambitious, unprogressive life : they are more or less penurious in their habits and parochial in their ideas and aims, and they require a good deal of managing."

Following the general treatment of the economic features of the Dominion is a series of chapters descriptive of the

tariffs and tariff policy of the past and the commercial relations existing between Canada and the United States. Mr. Jeans is inclined to think that the chances of a renewal of reciprocity arrangements between the two countries is not as remote as is generally believed. He states it as the opinion of many Canadian manufacturers that "if no commercial arrangement is made shortly with the mother country, there is a great danger of a reciprocity treaty being made with the United States, in which case the hands of Canada would be tied." This is a danger, in the opinion of the author, greatly to be avoided. "The situation is one that calls for an early agreement between the Dominion and the mother country of such a character as to checkmate the reciprocitarians (*sic*) on the other side of the line."

The respective commercial and industrial situations of Canada and the American Republic offer a parallel but at the same time a contrast. Mr. Jeans shows with elaborate statistics and diagrams the great disparity in industrial development at present existing between the two. The reason for this striking disparity is to be found partly in the rigour of the Canadian climate, and the consequent neglect of the possibilities of development, partly also in the "more chequered political history of the Dominion." The inferiority of Canada in regard to shipping (her tonnage being only  $\frac{1}{170}$ th of that registered in the United States), is indicated as "one of the greatest disadvantages under which Canada labours to-day."

Mr. Jeans' chapter on the Bounty System and his statistical analysis of its operation are especially good. To enable the development of Canada's resources to move at a pace commensurate with the progress of the United States, the great need is that of capital.

"It is certain that Canada has, until quite lately, found it a hard task to enlist in her expansion the capital of outside nations. European capital still fights shy. The capitalists of the United States, who are more on the spot, are now realizing that Canada is a good field for the investment of capital when judiciously expended. American [United States] capital has been largely invested in agriculture and forest lands ; in copper, coal, nickel and other mines ; in fisheries and ranching lands, and in many other directions. Hitherto, however, as we have just seen, British capital has stood

more or less aloof, greatly to the chagrin and disappointment of the Canadians, who are both annoyed at the fact that the Americans are getting a firm grip on the best investments that are available, to the loss of British investors, and resentful of the neglect of the opportunities afforded by their country which British capitalists have shown."

In the ensuing section of the work some sixty pages are devoted to a treatment of the iron-making resources of the Dominion. This is the most interesting and valuable portion of the book. The author is here dealing with a subject on which he is particularly competent to speak and is careful to substantiate his statements at every step with facts and figures taken from government returns and reliable authorities. His chapter on the works and operations of the Dominion Iron and Steel Company of Nova Scotia will be read with great interest by Canadian readers.

Mr. Jeans also discusses the enterprises at the Canadian Sault. "The collapse of inflated capital in the Consolidated Lake Superior Company" is to be attributed to "overdoing a watered stock and a future earning capacity." No opinion is expressed on the future of the plant. The mining development of British Columbia and the nickel resources of Ontario are treated in outline, these chapters coming in for a large share of the photographic illustration which is a feature of the book. Mr. Jeans' account of agricultural resources and development is perhaps insufficient. Much more might have been said of the opening up of the agricultural region of the far west and the possibilities of the development of the vast territory watered by the Peace River. It is possible that the author was deterred from entering on the subject by the conflict of authorities in reference to the country in question. Under the title of the "Human Factor" he discusses labour conditions, wages and the organization of employers and men. There are also short accounts of the railway system, the water-ways and water-power of the Dominion. Taken altogether the book is an excellent piece of work, carefully compiled, and abounding in certified facts and exact references.

STEPHEN LEACOCK.

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The Canadian Annual Review\* is now in its second year of issue, the present volume being identical in character with that for 1902, which we reviewed in detail. The main part of the book consists of fourteen topical articles in which current information and statistics are given about the central matters of interest during 1903. The first four articles dealing with Dominion political affairs, Provincial political affairs, Relations with the Empire and Relations with the United States are treated most extensively, and occupy the first four hundred pages. Special features of this year's publication are found in the account of the Alaskan Boundary Award (pp. 346-376) and the Grand Trunk Pacific Project (pp. 31-47, pp. 418-422). There are maps of the Alaskan territory formerly in dispute and of the route of the new railway. The book contains also (pp. 550-595) a chronology of chief events connected with Religion, Temperance, Labour, Art, etc., and an Obituary for the past year.

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*An English Farmer in Canada and a visit to the States, being notes and observations by a practical farmer and commercial man on Canada as a field for British capital and labour.* By Herbert Grange. London : Blackie & Son, Limited, 1904. Pp. xii, 150.

*Les Richesses du Canada.* Par Edmond J. P. Buron. Paris : E. Guilmoto, 1904. Pp. xiv, 368.

*Les Canadiens français d'après le recensement de 1901.* Par Onésime Reclus. (La Géographie, 15 juillet 1904, pp. 19-27).

Increased recognition of the varied resources of the Dominion and the growth of imperialistic sentiment have combined of late to focus a considerable share of attention on Canada. Mr. Grange's book is an instance of the awakening interest in the subject which men of business in England are beginning to take. The author passed through Canada from east to west and records the impressions which he received

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\* *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, 1903. By J. Castell Hopkins. Toronto : The Annual Review Publishing Company, Limited, 1904. Pp. xvi, 595, 15.

*en route*. As a farmer he naturally takes most interest in the wheat-producing western territory and its possibilities, but he has something to say on the lumber trade of the Ottawa river, the lake trade, the treatment of the Indians by the Canadian Government, the Mounted Police, the ranching area of the territories and mining in the Kootenay district. There is nothing positively new in his facts or views, but books like his will help to drive home the official information about Canada which has been scattered broadcast throughout Great Britain. There are a number of excellent illustrations from photographs.

The second volume, written by a French member of the Manitoba bar, is in effect a handbook for Frenchmen and a mandate to come over and join with their compatriots in building up the first and still greatest French colony. The Franco-Canadian Commercial Treaty of 1895 is reproduced and hints are given to intending settlers. Among other things it is urged that Canada's national and municipal bonds might be profitably sold in France, even more profitably at times than in Britain. For marketing in France they should be divided into small denominations down to \$100 and even \$50, and be made payable to bearer.

The article by M. Reclus on French-Canadians is interesting reading. "In 1904 out of a total of 5,371,000 in Canada 1,666,000 or 31 per cent. were of French descent. In the older provinces of Ontario and the east 30 per cent. were in 1861 of French blood, 33 per cent. in 1881 and 34 per cent. in 1901. If Ontario is omitted the figures are 52 per cent., 53 per cent. and 61 per cent. 80 per cent. of the population of the province of Quebec is French, 24 per cent. of New Brunswick, 13.5 per cent. of Prince Edward Island, 10 per cent. of Nova Scotia, 7.3 per cent. of Ontario, 8.4 per cent. of Manitoba, 2.6 per cent. of British Columbia, 15 per cent. of Saskatchewan, 19.7 per cent. of Athabasca, 6.6 per cent. of the Yukon. Down to about 1868 Montreal had a larger English than French-speaking population, but in 1871 the proportion of French



to English was 56 : 50, in 1881, 78 : 62, in 1901, 114 : 89, i.e. 56.5 per cent. Almost similar growth is noticeable in Quebec city and Ottawa-Hull. Only in the south-west corner of Quebec are the English still in the majority. Even into Ontario a great many French have crossed and they dominate certain localities.

This racial division is indeed one of the problems of Canada. It is all the bigger when to it is added religious differences which prevent intermarriage, school education in common and national consolidation. A statistical study of the Latin race in Canada is not complete, the author notes, until account is taken also of the Italians, the Belgians, the Syrians (!) and similar types of race and religion.

In connection with intermarriage between British and French an old resident of Québec has made the observation that marital unions between English and French-Canadians usually result in a poor type of offspring, while the children of Scotch and French-Canadian parents are more often as bright and thrifty as the others are dull and pusillanimous. An investigation of this opinion—it can be little more—would be interesting.

With regard to the material resources of Canada, of which Mr. Buron's book attempts a rough but indefinite outline, one or two observations may be in place. Of what country can it be said as it may of Canada, without a suspicion of jingoism, that it possesses some of the world's largest fisheries, biggest wheat fields, vastest available pine and pulp forests, and an unrivalled series of undeveloped waterfalls (which the Swiss call "white-coal"), besides great mineral, dairying and fruit-raising capabilities? Strange that after four decennial censuses and considerable geological field-work we are still without a satisfying economic handbook. In comparison with the United States—Canada's national standard alike for self-praise and condemnation—a great deal more steam needs to be put into Canada's geological survey work, her blue books ought to be less blue, and her statistical com-

pilations more thorough and serviceable. There has been a pause for a few years in Canada's mining development, but the experimental years have been passed and we have come to know that as a rule mining must be carried on in Canada with large capital and under due precautions against inexperienced absentee boards of "eastern" directors. Mixed farming and dairying appear to have promising futures in both east and west, the opening up of new territory and the scarcity of labour being for the time two of the chief impediments to rapid advance. As for manufacture Canadian industry has passed beyond the stage where it can depend upon the limited although rapidly growing home-market, and is equipping itself for more extensive export trade. The revolution in the industrial sentiments of Canadian manufacturers has been even greater than appears in the volume of data capable of being summed up by the statistician.

S. MORLEY WICKETT.

We should have noted long ago a volume on Canadian seaports\* published in France, evidently prepared for official use. The Inspector-General and the Chief Engineer of Roads and Bridges describe the four ports of Montreal, Quebec, Halifax and St. John. They give considerable engineering and hydrographic data, the 1892 trade returns, and an outline of the harbour boards. The maps appear to be carefully drawn. Our ports have nothing novel, not even a specimen free-harbour, to offer the visitor. With the exception of St. John, which is under municipal charge, they are under federal jurisdiction, exercised usually through harbour commissioners, or, as in Halifax for strategic reasons, without any intermediary board. The authors of the present report are surprised at the large sums sunk in some of the Canadian canals in contrast with their trifling traffic, e.g. the Trent, Rideau, St.

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\* *Les Ports Maritimes de l'Amérique du Nord sur l'Atlantique*. Par le Baron Quinette de Rochemont et H. Vétillart. Vol. 1, *Les Ports Canadiens*. Paris : Vve. Ch. Dunod, 1898. Pp. 242, and Atlas.

Peter, and Murray canals. No doubt much of the digging has been wasted labour, and it is high time for an intelligent survey of Canada's canal traffic and prospects by a reliable commission. Luckily a Transportation Commission is now brooding over this and kindred matters. It is never to be forgotten, however, that the importance of the canals is not to be gauged always by trade returns, but by their restraining influence on railway rates, which can hardly be estimated. The projected Chignecto ship railway which years ago stirred up much talk is referred to; but the rails, locomotives and other plant have now been sold and removed and the enterprise appears to be totally abandoned.

Railway enterprise in Canada is attracting attention outside of Canada itself. A short paper in an English magazine on *The Progress of Canada*\* enumerates the various railway projects of the Grand Trunk Pacific, the Canadian Pacific and the Canadian Northern Companies, including the irrigation scheme of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the Calgary district. Mention should have been made of the Government railways from Quebec and Toronto respectively to James Bay, the latter of which is actually under construction. Another article in *The North American Review* by Mr. John Charlton† deals more particularly with the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. The grades and the character of the country through which the new line will pass are discussed; but until accurate and detailed surveys have been made and more extended experience had of the climate, forecasts of the amount and character of the traffic of the new line are premature. A short account is included of the agreement between the Canadian Government and the Company, under which the construction of the east and west portions will take place.

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\* *The Progress of Canada*. By George Turnbull. (The World's Work, October, 1904, pp. 469-473.)

† *Canada's New Transcontinental Railway*. By John Charlton. (North American Review, October, 1904, pp. 591-599.)

An interesting article by Miss Jean McIlwraith on the cost of living in Canada appears in the *Cornhill Magazine*.\* The actual budgets of families living in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal are given, to assist the reader to compare expenses in the different parts of Canada. The author points out that one result of the heavy poll-tax on Chinese entering British Columbia is to raise the wages of domestic servants, for Chinese men-servants have hitherto in British Columbia made good the deficiency of women in that most necessary calling. The prices of commodities in different localities are given in considerable detail, and the variations noted in certain items of expenditure are very instructive. Servants' wages for instance for one family in Montreal are given as £70, while the same item in the budget of a Toronto family, one less in number and with a smaller income, is £85.

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*Annual Report of the Geological Survey of Canada (new series), vol. xiii, 1900. Ottawa, 1903. Pp. 709. Maps and plates.*

*Summary Report of the Geological Survey Department of Canada for the calendar year 1903. Ottawa, 1904. Pp. 218. Maps and plans.*

The bulky annual volume of the Geological Survey for 1900 has more separate reports but fewer pages than usual, a number of the reports being short. The Summary Report beginning the volume has already been reviewed, and the only geographical report in the volume is report D, on the East Coast of Hudson Bay, by A. P. Low. Mr. Low coasted along the whole east shore in 1898 and 1899, and made inland trips in the winter. He includes information given by Eskimos as well as sketch maps provided by them, so that his map presents a considerable advance on our previous knowledge. The northern interior is a hilly plateau of barren land over which caribou roam, but with many lakes in the valleys, one of them, Lake

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\* *Household Budgets Abroad, VI. Canada.* By Jean N. McIlwraith. (Cornhill Magazine, December, 1904, pp. 806-821.)

Minto, being more than a hundred miles long. The southern part is wooded with spruce and birch and is classed as cold temperate in contrast with the arctic north, since root crops and oats are successfully raised, and probably the hardier varieties of wheat could be cultivated along the southern shores of James bay. The fisheries are, however, the greatest natural resource of the region. Of Cape Wolstenholme, a "bird rock" on the northwest point of Labrador, which rises over 1000 feet above the sea, he says "the noise caused by the birds leaving their nests when frightened by the discharge of a gun is terrific and sounds as if the face of the cliff were falling."

The Summary Report of the Survey for 1903, though less than half the size of the previous year's report, contains several important papers on special regions as well as the customary review of the work of the year by the Acting Director. The general portion includes a useful list of publications by the Survey on Economic Minerals of Canada.

Mr. R. G. McConnell reports on work in the Klondike and gives a table showing the output of gold since 1896, the total being \$95,825,000. The richer parts of the old creeks are showing signs of exhaustion and the total yield of gold has fallen off since 1900, when high-water mark was reached with the production of \$22,275,000, to \$12,250,000, in 1903.

Mr. Brock outlines the geology of the Lardeau district, giving a sketch map, and describing the more important mines ; and Mr. James M. Macoun describes the Peace River country as having a fertile soil but as forming a tableland too high to ripen wheat except in the narrow river valley, but the Vermilion country is better suited for wheat, which ripens in three years out of five. The Coal Basins of the Rocky Mountains are taken up by Mr. D. B. Dowling with a map and sections ; Dr. Daly briefly outlines the geology of the International Boundary, and Mr. Wm. McInnes describes the Winisk River, Keewatin district.

There are also brief reports on parts of Ontario, one by Dr. Barlow on the Iron Formation of Temagami, another by Dr.

Ells on Hastings and Prince Edward counties ; and on parts of Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

Within the year, among other important publications of the Survey, has been issued Dr. Barlow's report on the Sudbury nickel and copper deposits,\* in which he sums up his work in that district, giving an excellent account of its geology and economic products, which are only now becoming well known, in spite of its great importance as the main nickel-producing region of the world.

In addition to the Annual Report and the Summary Report the Geological Survey has begun to publish short bulletins on various economic subjects which hardly require notice here ; but the *Summary of the Mineral Production of Canada for 1903*, which is published separately from the reports mentioned, is of interest as giving the best available mineral statistics of Canada as a whole for the year. Although it is headed "subject to revision," the returns may be looked on as approximately correct. The metals are given as follows :

Copper.....	\$5,728,261
Gold.....	18,834,490
Iron ore (exports).....	922,571
Pig iron (from Can. Ore).....	707,838
Lead.....	762,660
Nickel.....	5,002,204
Silver.....	1,700,779
Zinc.....	48,600
Total	<hr/> \$33,707,403

The non-metallic minerals reach a value of \$21,202,062, and structural materials \$8,017,045. Of the non-metallic minerals coal amounts to 7,996,634 tons valued at \$15,957,946. The total mineral output is placed at \$63,226,510 (including \$300,000 for minerals not returned) which represents a falling off of one per cent. from 1902, and a still greater falling off from 1901, when the total was \$66,339,158. The shrinkage in the production of the Yukon placers accounts for most of this decline,

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\* Report on the Origin, Geological Relations and Composition of the Nickel and Copper Deposits of the Sudbury Mining District.

but there was also a heavy reduction in the amount of iron, lead and silver produced. On the other hand the output of copper gained nearly 27 per cent. in value, and coal over 10 per cent. Gold and coal remain by far the most important of our mineral products, providing together more than half the total value reported.

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*Report of the Ontario Bureau of Mines, Part I, 1904.* Toronto, 1904. Pp. 255. Maps.

*Annual Report of the Minister of Mines (British Columbia) for the year 1903.* Victoria, B. C., 1904.

*Report of the Department of Mines, Nova Scotia, 1903.* Halifax, 1904. Pp. 165.

*Department of Lands, Mines and Fisheries, Mining Operations in the Province of Quebec for the year 1903.* Quebec, 1904. Pp. 86.

The first part of the Ontario Bureau of Mines Report includes the usual account of mining operations for the year and the mineral statistics by the Director, followed by reports of the mine inspectors and by special papers on different mining and geological topics. The total output of minerals is valued at \$12,870,593, a falling off of four per cent. from the previous year, the shrinkage being in the metals, especially iron and steel, due to the temporary collapse of the Lake Superior Power Company, which involved the closing of the Helen mine. In non-metallic minerals there was a satisfactory increase. The chief metallic products of the mines of Ontario are copper (\$716,726), nickel (\$2,499,068), pig iron (\$1,491,696), and steel (\$304,580) ; while the non-metallic products of main importance are brick and other building materials, which had a value of \$1,825,538, stone valued at \$845,000, cement worth \$1,252,118, lime worth \$520,000, and petroleum and its products valued at \$1,586,674. Salt was produced to the value of \$388,067, and carbide of calcium, mica and natural gas to the value of more than \$100,000 each. The number of substances of economic importance is gradually increasing, and in some,

such as corundum, Ontario seems better supplied than the rest of the world.

Among the special reports several are of interest. Professor Miller describes the rich "Cobalt-Nickel Arsenides and Silver" deposits of Coleman township near lake Temiskaming, which have already (in 1904) produced hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of ore, and promise to be of great importance though of small size. Part of the new "Clay Belt" of the Abitibi region is reported on by George F. Kay, and J. Mackintosh Bell, with Dr. Parks, describes the geology and economic resources of the Moose River basin, where small deposits of lignite occur. The Northern Nickel Range is reported on and mapped by Dr. Coleman, who also describes in detail and maps Lake Iroquois, the predecessor of Lake Ontario, whose deformed shore is now from 116 to 500 feet above the level of Ontario.

The Annual Report on the British Columbian mines for 1903 is of the usual nature, consisting first of a statistical account of the production, and then of detailed descriptions of the different mining divisions and their mines. There are also the usual beautiful photo-reproductions of fine mountain scenery and a map of the province.

The output for the year is as follows :

Gold, placer.....	\$1,060,420
Gold, lode.....	4,812,616
Silver.....	1,521,472
Copper.....	4,547,535
Lead.....	689,744
Coal.....	3,504,582
Coke.....	827,715
Other materials.....	531,870

Total	\$17,495,954
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The total is practically the same as in 1902, but is much less than in 1901, when the value was estimated at more than \$20,000,000 ; and the shrinkage is due to the lessened mining of silver-lead ores because of low prices and a hostile duty on



ores sent to the United States. The bounty recently placed by Parliament on lead mined and smelted in Canada is now aiding the silver-lead miners, and in general mining matters, so vital to the interests of the province, are getting upon a sounder basis than formerly.

*Mining in British Columbia\** is a report of more popular character than the one just mentioned. It gives a brief historic sketch of mining in the province, followed by statistics in which the output in British Columbia is compared with that of all the other provinces except the Yukon territory, with a total of \$16,970,954 for British Columbia against \$12,250,000 for the Klondike and \$22,108,120 for the rest of Canada. For the other provinces, however, only the metals, coal and coke are included, the other non-metallic products being omitted from the total. Following this is a discussion of the Outlook for Zinc Mining, which promises to add a new resource to the province, and a readable account of the mining districts, with good illustrations.

The Nova Scotian Mining Report for 1903 includes besides the usual details of mineral production, leases, etc., two appendices, No. 1, a Descriptive Catalogue of Nova Scotia minerals, and No. 2, Deep Gold Mining in Nova Scotia, by E. R. Fairbault of the Canadian Geological Survey. In the ordinary report there is not much that is of general interest except the statistics, which are of the usual nature, the table containing only ounces of gold and tons of other minerals, with no estimate of values. The more important mineral products of the province for 1903 are :

Gold.....	25,198 ounces
Iron Ore.....	415,192 tons (in-
	cluding 379,179 tons of imported ore).
Coal.....	5,245,247
Coke.....	406,152
Gypsum.....	175,850
Pig Iron.....	194,444
Steel Ingots.....	180,434

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\* Official Bulletin No. 19, published by authority of the Legislative Assembly. Victoria, 1904.

The table shows nearly a million tons increase in the amount of coal mined, but small decreases in the output of iron ore, pig iron, and coke.

The second appendix, on Deep Gold Mining, though brief, is of considerable interest, as showing that the "saddle reefs" corresponding to the curvature of anticlines may be repeated again and again at lower levels as at Bendigo in Australia, so that there is a probability that the gold deposits which have been worked so long will be found to extend to a depth of 2000 feet or more. The provincial government is aiding in the sinking of three deep shafts to test the matter.

The mining report of Quebec is the briefest issued by any of the provinces, as might be expected from the small amount of mining in the province. Only one mineral product, asbestos (with asbestic), reaches the value of nearly a million dollars ; and only one other product, chromic iron ore, has an output of more than \$100,000, if structural materials are omitted. The total mineral production for 1903 is \$2,772,762. Practically the world's supply of asbestos for spinning and weaving and other purposes requiring a fire proof fibre is derived from a few mines in the Eastern townships of Quebec.

White's *Dictionary of Altitudes*,\* following up his *Altitudes in Canada* of 1901, is one of the most useful of recent publications to geographers and geologists, since the thousands of altitudes of points fixed in one way or another in the Dominion are now within reach when any work requiring the determination of levels is undertaken. The labour needed to compile these altitudes and to discuss and check the materials derived from railway and canal surveys and the reports of geologists and explorers must have been immense. In this connection Major E. H. Hills' *Report on the Survey of Canada*† should be referred to. As head of the Topographical Section of

\**Dictionary of Altitudes in the Dominion of Canada.* By James White. Ottawa : 1903. Pp. 143. Map.

†*Report on the Survey of Canada.* By Major E. H. Hills, London : Intelligence Department, War Office, 1904. Pp. 4. Maps,

the British War Office, his report calls for special attention on the part of Canadians, since it brings out in an authoritative way the defects of Canada's system, or rather lack of system, in the past. Although the report is on the "Military Survey of Canada," the importance of a good topographical survey of the Dominion for civil purposes is even more to be emphasized ; and the short chapter on the "Value and Nature of Good Maps," should be read and pondered by every one interested in the progress and standing of Canada. Our existing maps are severely but justly criticized, and it is pointed out that different authorities and even different employees of the same department are duplicating work in a most wasteful way.

"The same ground is being surveyed over and over again by the land surveyor, the geologist, the railway or canal engineer, the hydrographer, etc. For every new object a new survey has to be made. The labour and expenditure on these surveys would be considerably reduced, and often entirely unnecessary, if there were a systematic triangulation carried out as in other countries."

It is humiliating to have to admit that Canada is behind almost every other civilized country in this matter, even such backward countries as Russia and some of the South American republics having at least a beginning of a topographical survey, so that it is to be hoped Major Hills' suggestion as to the immediate commencement of a proper triangulation and survey of the Dominion will be acted on. He estimates \$75,000 per annum as the minimum for which the work could be carried on satisfactorily. This would provide for the mapping of 7,500 square miles a year.

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## ARCHAEOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, AND FOLK-LORE

*Annual Archaeological Report, 1903.* Being Part of Appendix to the Report of The Minister of Education, Ontario. Toronto, 1904. Pp. 150, with 67 figs.

*Upon Aboriginal Pictographs Reported from New Brunswick.* By W. F. Ganong. (Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, No. xxii, pp. 175-178.)

To the *Archaeological Report* for 1903, Mr. Boyle himself contributes, besides the list of accessions (Nos. 25,001-26,753),—a varied and a valuable collection—brief articles and notes on native pipes, knives, axes, etc., and other archaeological topics, as well as a brief note on the late R. T. Anderson, whose accidental death was a loss to the study of Canadian archaeology. The other contributors are Jos. D. McGuire, Rev. W. M. Beauchamp, Geo. E. Laidlaw, A. F. Hunter, and Rev. Dr. W. R. Harris.

Mr. Boyle believes that while "a very large number of tobacco pipes owe much, if not everything, to British, French, Spanish, and Dutch contact with the Indians," it is absurd to attribute European origins to all these objects. On clay pipes little or nothing indicative of European influence has been detected. Some stone pipes, doubtless, were the work of white men or of Indians acquainted with European notions and using European tools, and when the Indian had the white man's tools he often imitated pipes of the white man's make. But it is true, nevertheless, that "some of the best stone pipes exhibit much skill in bringing out animal features, yet a close examination of them, with the aid of a magnifying glass, yields no sign of marks requiring the use of anything but primitive tools to produce them." It is denying to our Indians imagination and mechanical ability, to maintain that they were indebted to Europeans "for every notion respecting the shapes and decorative devices in pipe-making." Concerning the working of native copper, Mr. Boyle holds that "copper manipulation was practised by the Indian long before the discovery

and the invention or application of the socket, as well as the use of a tying-hole, in connection with arrow and spear heads, is wholly due to aboriginal ingenuity or adaptiveness." So-called "nail-holes" in copper sockets do not thus prove European contact. Mr. McGuire is still of opinion that "there is no stronger evidence presented anywhere of European influence than is shown by the Iroquoian pottery-pipe." In certain pipes of these Indians there is "a pronounced evidence of the imitation of the flaring mouth of a trumpet." The pump-drill, Mr. McGuire maintains, was not in use in America before the coming of the whites. He also holds to the European origin of certain thin, embossed work in copper.

Mr. Boyle's notes on the making of stone implements and ornaments and their mending are of great interest. After the lapse of a certain time "it is often difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish those that had been treated with a Sheffield 'Sorby' from those which had been rubbed stone on stone." The Indian's mechanical technique was not so poor as some think. Mr. Boyle's opinion that bone combs were known to the Canadian Indians before contact with the whites took place is controverted by Mr. Beauchamp, who refuses to believe that "any New York or Canadian Indian ever made a bone comb until he had European hints." In all New York State "no instance of a bone comb has been reported earlier than about 1600, except in Jefferson county." Mr. Beauchamp, as is well known, attributes to the whites of New York State during the early colonial period much material and intellectual influence upon the arts and ideas of the Indians. The shell necklace described on page 87 is a mixture of aboriginal and European art, while the brass smoking-pipe from Onondaga came from some pot or kettle of European make. The two perforated skulls from Lambton county are rather unique ; two others from Simcoe county, are catalogued also. The Onondaga burial place contains much evidence of white contact, and most of the burials were made subsequent to the arrival of the whites, and possibly about 1700-1750. The

two specimens of mummies from British Columbia are thought to have belonged to the Clayoquot tribe.

Mr. F. Birch gives an account of his investigations, which lead him to believe that the famous *Standing Rock* is not where Father Jones recently "discovered" it, but lies  $5\frac{1}{4}$  miles further north, at the place known as "Indian Cave." Mr. Laidlaw reports five new village sites in Victoria county, and describes some of the relics found, chief of which is a very large stone bear pipe, belonging to the later Hurons or to the Algonkins.

In his article on *Indian Village Sites in North and South Orillia Townships*, Mr. A. F. Hunter describes, briefly in most cases, 34 sites, of which 12 are in North and 22 in South Orillia, evidencing "a considerable population in the early Huron epoch—the first half of the seventeenth century." The Orillia townships are important as containing "the line of contact between Huron tribes and those named Algonkin in the Jesuit 'Relations'." Algonkin sites with distinct characters preponderate over Huron sites in the Orillias. Among these peculiarities are abundance of stone and pottery discs, individual burials, highly decorated pipes and pottery, bone needles and awls, greater abundance of flints, brass arrow head of great ingenuity. European relics are abundant in the Orillia sites. The Indian trails are also much in evidence here. The Mount Slaven site is thought by some to have been Champlain's *Cahiague*, but Mr. Hunter considers it Algonkin. The fishing-station at the Narrows of Lake Simcoe is probably the one mentioned by Champlain. Mr. Hunter continues to add to our knowledge of Ontarian archaeology and ethnology.

The note on *Iroquois in the North West Territories* emphasizes a fact to which the reviewer has elsewhere called attention. In *The Killing of Moostoos, the Wehtigoo* we have a copy of the court records of the trial of two Cree Indians for killing another Indian who had declared himself a *wehtigoo* (Ojibwa, *wendigo*), "one possessed." It is a valuable contribution to Indian folk-lore. A good index adds to the value of Mr. Boyle's excellent Report.

Up to the present time, according to Professor Ganong, only four aboriginal pictographs (real or supposed) have been reported from New Brunswick—the Gesner pictures on wood, which have now disappeared; the St. George carved stone medallion (probably non-Indian), the Passamaquoddy marked boulder, and the carvings on the Oromocto sandstone boulder (this is a case of glacial or ice scratches mistaken for pictography). In his article *Upon Aboriginal Pictographs from New Brunswick*, the author describes the carvings on a smooth sandstone boulder on the shore of French Lake (Oromocto), which are probably Indian totemic signs (human figures, stretched-out beaver-skin, etc., (although the possibility of their entirely natural origin through weathering is not at all excluded.

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

*Religious Ideas of American Indians.* By W. B. Martin. (Catholic University Bulletin, vol. x, pp. 35-68, 225-243.)

*The Education of the Indians of Canada.* By H. F. Spender. (Journal of the African Society, 1903, pp. 425-432.)

*The Contributions of the American Indian to Civilization.* By Alexander F. Chamberlain. (Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, N.S., vol. xvi, pp. 91-126.)

*Iroquois in Northwestern Canada.* By Alexander F. Chamberlain. (American Anthropologist, N.S., vol. vi, pp. 459-463.)

*Indians, American.* By Alexander F. Chamberlain. (Encyclopedia Americana, vol. ix, 1904.)

Mr. Martin's article on *Religious Ideas of American Indians* is of a general nature, and is based chiefly on Jesuit and other missionary records, with some reference to the chief recent literature on the subject. He holds that there is "no evidence of an organized priesthood (only medicine-men, shamans or jugglers), while no ancestor-worship in any sense can be said to have existed among our tribes," statements by no means accurate or justifiable as they stand.

A paper on *The Education of the Indians of Canada* seems at first sight out of place in a journal devoted to the Dark Continent, but such a general discussion of the attempt to educate a primitive people has its bearing upon the solution of the problems of African civilization. Mr. Spender writes from experience obtained during a visit to Manitoba. He advocates state control of all schools, and favours the "scattered home" system as against the "barracks-school."

The present reviewer's *Contributions of the American Indian to Civilization* is the preliminary sketch of a future monograph to be devoted to cataloguing and describing the gifts of the Red Man to the other races of the globe. These include thousands of geographical names all over the American Continent, several hundred words of Indian (chiefly Algonkian) origin in American English alone, influence on literature, trails that subsequently became highways and railway routes, devices in hunting and fishing, agricultural processes, materials and methods in arts and industries, recreations (lacrosse, snow-shoeing, etc.), numerous foods and drinks, medicines and narcotics. The intermingling of the races on the American continent is held to be greater than is commonly believed. Many facts of interest relating to Canada are referred to,—a large number of the Algonkian words incorporated in American English, the game of lacrosse, etc., were born within the limits of the Dominion, where also snow-shoeing and canoe making flourished. The use of maple-sugar was also probably derived from the Indians of Canada. Here, too, lay the scenes of many of the legendary exploits of the Algonkian Manabozho, and the real achievements of the Iroquoian Hiawatha. Altogether, the American Indian has made a great and lasting impression upon the civilized world.

In a brief paper on *Iroquois in Northwestern Canada* he discusses the presence, in various regions of the great Northwest, so remote from their original habitat, of Iroquois Indians, as *voyageurs*, employés of the great fur companies, guides and settlers. The Iroquois canoemen of some of the Hudson's



Bay Governors have been famous. The existence of the Iroquois (now Indian only in name) of "Michel's Reserve," near Edmonton, in Alberta, has been overlooked by ethnologists. Some of the Iroquois even crossed the Rockies and came into contact with the Carrier Indians (Athapascan), who are said to have borrowed from them the use of the cross-bow and the dug-out canoe. To Iroquois, trading with the Flat-heads of the Upper Columbia River region, has also been attributed the stimulus which led to the coming of Father de Smet, the celebrated missionary. Such influences are a remarkable instance of the culture-bearing character of the Iroquois at a point so far distant from their original homes.

The encyclopædia sketch of the *American Indians* aims at giving in brief compass the essential facts of language and culture of the Indians and their history as far as is known. A bibliography is appended. Of Canadian stocks, most is said of the Eskimo, the Algonkins, the Iroquois, the Athapascans, etc. The total number (not completely exhaustive) of American Indian stocks listed by the author is 133, of which some 12 have or had representatives in the Dominion.

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

*The Development of the Clan System and of Secret Societies among the Northwestern Tribes.* By John R. Swanton.

(*American Anthropologist*, N.S., vol. vi, pp. 477-485.)

*Les "Cannibales" de Vancouver.* Par Raymond Montclavel.

(*La Nouvelle Revue*, vol. xxv, pp. 262-268.)

*Du lac Stuart à l'Océan Pacifique.* Par le R.P.A.G. Morice, O.M.I., missionnaire en Colombie Britannique. (*Bull. de la Soc. Neuchâteloise de Géographie*, vol. xv., pp. 32-80.)

*Shell Heaps of the Lower Fraser River, British Columbia.*

By Harlan I. Smith. (*Records of the Past*, vol. iii, pp. 79-90.)

*The Cairns or Stone Sepulchres of British Columbia and Washington.* By Harlan I. Smith. (*Ibid.*, pp. 243-256.)

In his article on the *Clan System and Secret Societies among the Northwestern Tribes*, Dr. Swanton summarizes the

results of the investigations of Father Morice, Dr. Franz Boas, and himself. He concludes that "it is safe to look for the original seat of the clan system with material descent on the northwest coast among the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian," also that "a large portion of the Tlingit once lived at the mouths of Nass and Skeena rivers." The author's own theory postulates "the priority of the two-clan system among the Haida and Tlingit to the four-clan system of the Tsimshian, and the upgrowth of the whole from matrimonial alliances between different people." It is a very interesting fact that the origin of this system should be traced to "a region where several different linguistic stocks were in close contact." Another institution, very characteristic of the culture of the Northwest Pacific coast, "goes back to a similar area, though at a different point on the coast." The facts known seem to indicate that "the more important features of the secret societies arose among the Heiltsuk proper, or Bellabella, who were in close contact with the Tsimshian of Kittizoo, on one side, and the Bellacoola on the other." The lexical correspondences in Tlingit and Haida, the comparatively recent south-westward (toward the coast) movement of the Tsimshians, and the northward migration of the Tlingit, are of sociological significance. In historic times there has been a very intimate communication between the southern Haida and the Tsimshian (these have borrowed many songs from the former). The matriarchial system among the Carriers and the western Nah'ane, Dr. Swanton thinks, "has been mainly, if not entirely, the result of coastal influences."

M. Raymond Montclavel's article on *Les "Cannibales" de Vancouver* is a rather popular account, probably based on Boas' monograph, of one of the secret societies of the Kwakiutl Indians of Vancouver Island, with whom symbolic "cannibalism" is not yet altogether extinct. The author terms these savages "isolated cannibals, good-intentioned artists in their way, who seek to preserve for their country a little local colour." M. Montclavel spells Kwakiutl properly, but uses a

needless hyphen and capital letter in Ha-Matza (Hāmats'a). The tone of the article is rather facetious in places, and the style quite lively.

In Father Morice's account of his trip *Du Lac Stuart à l'Océan Pacifique* are contained some notes on the Indian tribes of this region with which he is so intimately acquainted, references to his own now quite numerous publications, and some welcome explanation of aboriginal place-names, etc. The following statement deserves reproduction here : "Our Indians read and write their language, with marvellous facility, by means of recently invented syllabic characters, which they learn without any regular schooling" (p. 74). On page 40 the author repeats his statement as to the Iroquois origin of the "dug-outs" of the Carrier Indians.

The articles of Dr. Harlan I. Smith summarize his own fuller monographs published by the American Museum (New York), and already noticed in this Review.

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

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*The Folk-Lore of the Eskimo.* By Franz Boas. (Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. xvii, pp. 1-13.)

*A Phonetical Study of the Eskimo Language.* Based on Observations made on a Journey in North Greenland, 1900-1901. With a Historical Introduction about the East Eskimo, a Comparison of the Eskimo Dialects, a New Collection of Greenlandic Folk-Tales, Songs, and Music, and a Map of the Eskimo Territories. By William Thalbitzer. Copenhagen, 1904. Pp. xvii, 406.

Dr. Boas's *Folk-Lore of the Eskimo* is the résumé by an expert authority of our knowledge concerning the nature and content of tales and legends from all parts of the Eskimo area, in particular the region east of the Mackenzie river, where the most typical forms of culture are to be found. Hero-tales, in which the supernatural plays a more or less important rôle, compose the great mass and the most characteristic portion of Eskimo folk-lore. Another fact, emphasized by Dr. Boas, is that "the animal-myth proper was originally foreign to the

Eskimo," having been, in all probability, borrowed from the Indians. The "for the benefit of man" idea is also absent from the transformations and creations of Eskimo folk-tales. A common episode in Eskimo folk-lore is a sudden change from love to hate. The sexual element and obscene incidents are limited, and few as compared with those of Indian tales. The shaman figures extensively in Eskimo folk-lore. A very marked feature is the conservatism manifested in "the faithful retention of historical facts."

Mr. Thalbitzer's excellent monograph on *The Eskimo Language*, while mainly concerned with the speech of Greenland, has a section (pp. 203-242) on the Eskimo dialects outside of Greenland. The historical introduction also considers the former southward extension of the Eskimo in north-eastern North America. The author holds that "the Skrælings, whom the old Icelanders in the saga claim to have seen on the coasts of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia about the year 1000 were really Eskimo." This may be, but the attempt to derive the place-names *Nipisiquit* and *Tadousac* from the Eskimo language is much too venturesome, since these are good Algonkian. Nor do the Beothuks, as stated on page 21, "belong to the Micmac tribe of Indians." According to Mr. Thalbitzer the phonetic differences between the Labrador language and Greenlandic are not great, and the Labrador dialect seems in these respects "more nearly related to the South Greenlandic dialect than to the Upernavik dialect and the language on the east coast of Greenland," while some features suggest *rapprochement* with the language of the Mackenzie River Eskimo, or Tchiglit of Petitot. The language of the Smith Sound Eskimo "is just as near to the language of the Central Eskimo in Baffin Land as to the dialects of Upernavik and Ammassalik (or perhaps even a little nearer)." The Mackenzie River dialect seems farther removed from Greenlandic than is the Labrador, Alaskan still more,—the Eskimo of Norton Sound most of all. A very useful list of Eskimo place-names and their significations, occupies pages

331-373. This monograph, invaluable to every student of the Eskimo, was translated into English by Mrs. Sophia Bertelsen. It appeared originally in vol. xxxi of the *Meddelelser om Grønland*.  
ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

*Traditions of the Sarcee Indians.* By S. C. Simms. (Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. xvii, pp. 180-182.)

*Report on the Ethnology of the Siciatl of British Columbia, a Coast Division of the Salish Stock.* By Charles Hill Tout. (Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. xxxiv, pp. 20-91.)

*Aboriginal American Basketry: Studies in a Textile Art without Machinery.* By Otis Tufton Mason. (Report of U.S. National Museum for 1902 [Washington, 1904], pp. 171-548, with 248 plates and 212 figures.)

*Iroquoian Cosmology.* By J. N. B. Hewitt. (21st Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pt. I, pp. 127-339; 6 plates.)

Mr. Simms' *Traditions of the Sarcee Indians* records the English versions of three legends of the Sarcees of Alberta. The first tells of the separation, through an ice-breaking episode, from the Beaver Indians; the second is a deluge-myth with the Algonkian diving-animals incident; the last a bear-story, accounting for the stars in the Great Bear constellation. His brief contribution adds to the scant literature about these Indians.

Mr. Charles Hill Tout's *Report of the Siciatl* summarizes the results of his investigations during the summer of 1902, and "with the exception, perhaps, of a few folk-tales, records all that may now be gathered of the past concerning this tribe." The Siciatl are probably the most modified by white influences of all the Indian tribes of British Columbia, and "they are now, outwardly at least, a civilized people, and their lives and condition compare favourably with those of the better class of peasants of Western Europe." Their village is dominated by "an imposing church, which cost the tribe nearly \$8,000 a few years ago." It has also "a convenient and effective water works system," the water being brought in iron pipes from a mountain stream some three miles off. These Indians are, naturally, "the most industrious and prosperous of all

the native peoples of this province." Their material prosperity highly moral character, and orderly conduct, "are mainly, if not entirely, due to the Fathers of the Oblate Mission,"—they became Catholics some 40 years ago. They number now some 325 souls, of whom between 60 and 70 are adult males. Of this interesting people the author gives details concerning ethnography and sociology and language. Physically the Siciatl are a mixed people, as evidenced not only by traditions and genealogies, but also by facial types. Two of their old tribal divisions are said to have been founded by men of Kwakiutl lineage. *Sulism* was less prominent with them than with the up-river and interior tribes. The old-time dwellings were communal. The puberty customs differed somewhat from those of the other Salish. The archaeological remains consist of kitchen-middens, cairns, and fishing-works. Of most of the legends the author gives the native texts with inter-linear and free English translations. The Siciatl language differs considerably from the dialects of the contiguous Salish tribes, and is said to be hard to learn. This monograph contains much that is new and valuable.

Professor O. T. Mason's elaborate and beautifully illustrated monograph on *Aboriginal American Basketry* treats of definitions of basketry, vocabulary of technical terms, materials for basketry, basket-making, ornamentation, symbolism, uses of basketry, ethnic varieties, collectors and collections. Basketry is one of the primitive arts almost entirely carried on by women, although "medicine men" often make their own basket-drums, etc. It is also a plain witness to "the migrations of native blood, and speech, and arts." With the advent of machinery, basketry became man's work and the influences of trade have largely demoralized the form and beauty of its old creations. The *canastro-mania* of modern collectors has often had evil consequences. Three of the "basketry areas" of Professor Mason are directly concerned with the Dominion: the eastern region (Canada, eastern, southern, and western United States), Alaskan region (interior

Alaska, Artic Alaska, Aleutian chain, south-eastern Alaska, Queen Charlotte Archipelago), Fraser-Columbia region (Fraser drainage, Columbia drainage). The list of basket-making tribes (pp. 367-372), through some oversight, does not contain the name of the Kootenay, nor are these Indians referred to in the index. As the reviewer knows from personal observation, they are not the least of all the adepts in this wonderful art. The Eskimo, as a whole, the author tells us, are not skilful basket-makers. The acme of northern Algonkian weaving is reached in twilled matting, the operation concerned in which is "just on the border between free-hand plaiting and loom work." Many of the Algonkian Indians now make baskets for the whites with machine-cut splints and other aids borrowed from the "higher" race. The coiled basketry of the Athapascan tribes has several varieties of technique, and the Hupa Indians of northern California betray in their basketry, no less than in their speech, their Tinné ancestry. The Tlinkits have "a superb basketry," while the twined weaving hats of the Nootka are a remarkable instance of local variation and development. The hats made by the Haida "are masterpieces in execution and ornamental weaving." This monograph is indispensable to all interested in the development of human arts and industries. The alphabetical list (pp. 361-363) of uses to which basketry is put, from *armour* to *winnowing implements*, shows the range of primitive demand and supply. Professor Mason's *Indian Basketry* (2 vols., N.Y.: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1904) contains essentially the same material.

Mr. Hewitt, of Iroquoian lineage himself, presents, in his monograph on *Iroquoian Cosmology*, a most important contribution to the study of the mythological and philosophical concepts of the Indians of America, their *sophiology*, as the late Major J. W. Powell termed it. The first part of Mr. Hewitt's work, as published here, consists of Onondaga (obtained in 1889 from the late John Buck, on the Grand River Reservation), Seneca (obtained in 1896 on the Cattaraugus Reservation, N.Y.), and Mohawk (obtained in 1896-1897 from Seth

Newhouse, on the Grand River Reservation), versions of the Iroquoian cosmologic legend with interlinear and free English translations. Another more detailed version in Onondaga is to appear in a future Report. The legends are given exactly as related. In Iroquoian thought, Mr. Hewitt tells us, the primal beings were anthropic (the "man beings" of these texts), belonging to "a rather vague class, of which man was the characteristic type," and some of them were "mere fictions, figures of speech made concrete and objective." Among these primal beings were : Daylight, Earthquake, Winter, Medicine, Wind (or Air), Life (Germination), and Flower. It is later only that "beast-gods" appear, and the Iroquoian term rendered "god" by the whites really signifies "controller" or "disposer." For, with the Iroquois, "beasts and animals, plants and trees, rocks and streams of water, having human or other effective attributes or properties in a paramount measure, were naturally regarded as the controllers of those attributes or properties, which could be made available by *orenda* or magic power." Hence worship and prayer. The chief matter of these legends is aboriginal, but numerous evidences of Biblical and missionary teachings of more recent date appear. Particular instances of this occur in reference to the statement of the formation of the physical bodies of man and of the animals and plants, and in the adaptation of the Mosaic account of the creation of woman from man's rib ; also in the idea of hell the white-element is represented. The original Iroquois idea is not the creation of man from earth, but the "transmutation of the life of the earth into that of man and all living beings." The parthenogenetic or virgin birth is with the Iroquois, a metaphor, a figure of speech much misapprehended,—this is made clear in the Onondaga version. From these legends we can readily see how "by primitive man all motions and activities were interpreted as manifestations of life and will."

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

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*Settling the Canadian Northwest.* By F. J. Batchelder (Southern Workman, vol xxxiii, pp. 218-122.)

*Intrusive ethnological types in Rupert's Land.* By Rev. Dr. G. Bryce (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, vol. ix, section ii, pp. 135-144.)

*The Gaelic Folk-Songs of Canada.* By A. Fraser. (Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., vol ix, sect. ii, pp. 49-60.)

*The North-shore Villages of the Lower St. Lawrence.* By Ellen Churchill Semple. (Ratzel-Festschrift, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 349-360.)

Mr. Batchelder's brief paper touches on the Russian, Galician, German and Scandinavian elements in the population of the Dominion. In the North-west a great mingling of peoples fraught with good things and bad for the future of the country is taking place. It is curious that the Mormon colony is "settled in southern Alberta, the only really arid portion of the region," where they are making the desert bloom.

Dr. Bryce's paper on *Intrusive Ethnological Types in Rupert's Land* is a short statement of the various tribes of Indians to be found in the territory so long known under that name, with notes on their history, languages and physical characteristics. He gives four main divisions according to locality: Saulteurs or Saulteaux, Crees, Sioux and Assiniboines. In order to make his summary complete he adds the later intrusive European races from Europe and makes special classes of the Métis, the English half-breeds, and the old settlers. The old limits of Rupert's Land still contain 50,000 Indians.

Mr. Fraser's discussion of *The Gaelic Folk-Songs of Canada* contains many items of biographical and critical interest, besides examples of the work of numerous bards. Gaelic love-songs seem to have found propitious soil in Canada. The fate of European folk-lore in America is a matter of interest to scholars.

It was surely fitting that at least one of the many articles in the *Festschrift* (unfortunately now but a memorial, since the great scholar in whose honour it was compiled died before it could be presented) for Friedrich Ratzel, anthropologist and geographer, should deal, if but briefly, with some part of the

Dominion. There is nothing new in this picture of the north-shore *habitant* and his environment, but the sketch embodies the results of the author's own observations—"French Canada is especially interesting to the anthropo-geographer as showing the interplay of heredity and environment, of race and geographic condition." The primitive economy of the few inland villages like St. Féréol is noteworthy, where domesticity covers all, and the inroads of the modern industrial system have not yet made their destructive appearance. Here abides "the *habitant*, the only historical figure in North America."

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

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**VI. EDUCATIONAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,  
LAW, BIBLIOGRAPHY, ETC.**

*Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada from the passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791 to the close of the Reverend Doctor Ryerson's Administration of the Education Department in 1876.* Vol. xi. 1853-1855.  
By J. George Hodgins. Toronto, 1904. Pp.

We have noted from time to time the appearance of the volumes of this work. Its venerable author has now completed sixty years of continuous service in the Department of Education. His friends throughout the province will join in our congratulations, that in his eighty-fourth year he is still able to do such valuable work for posterity. Eleven years ago he entered upon his laborious task of compiling this history, at an age when ordinary men would have accepted their well earned rest. But no younger man, in fact no other man, could have done for us what he has done. In regard to the educational work of the last sixty years he can say, *Magna pars fui*; and when he entered with the freshness of youth in 1844, the events of the preceding fifty years were still fresh in the memory of living men and the documents were still well preserved.

During the first fifty years of the history of Upper Canada important public questions were inextricably intermingled. Constitutional government by a representative parliament, the separation of church and state, equal civil rights, representative municipal institutions as opposed to bureaucratic centralization, clergy reserves, and a public provision for education, were questions which crossed each other in all directions. The documents and facts belonging to any one section of the history throw important light upon the whole. This peculiarity renders Dr. Hodgins' earlier volumes most valuable, not only for the particular history of education, but also for the general history of the province and the Dominion. With the introduction of Dr. Ryerson's system by the Common School Act of 1850, the educational history of Upper Canada takes a more definite form and is less affected by the general political sit-

uation. Especially is this the case as municipal institutions were more completely established.

On opening the present volume, we find the evidence at once presented that the school system had by 1853 taken strong hold of the interest of the people. The series of county conventions held by the Chief Superintendent in 1853 resulted in important resolutions concerning the powers of trustees, the establishment of free schools by some form of general taxation in the section or in the municipality, and the establishment of public libraries in connection with the schools. Many of the municipal councils at the session following these conventions passed resolutions on the same matters. In 1853 the separate school question again became pressing and we have here presented a full discussion of the legal aspects of the case.

A most interesting document in this volume is the report of Lord Elgin to the Colonial Secretary on the operation of the school system of Upper Canada. In this report he deals not only with the general provisions of the system, but at length with such questions as public libraries in connection with the schools and religious instruction in the schools. It is somewhat remarkable that, after fifty years largely of comparative indifference, these questions are now again arousing public interest. The last clause of Lord Elgin's report calls attention to the recent provisions for the improvement of secondary education. Grammar schools were the first public schools founded in the country and were the subject of the earliest legislation on educational matters. From the first they had been completely under the influence of the old régime, and they were the last to escape from it. The primary schools had been released immediately on the introduction of responsible government, and the establishment of the University of Toronto took place in 1849 ; but not until 1853 did the grammar schools feel the power of the new political life, and even then it was some time before they came thoroughly under its influence. The Grammar School Act of 1853 had founded a grammar school fund from the sale of public lands set apart for that purpose at an

early date. Power was given to the municipal councils to supplement this fund so as to make effective provision for the schools. A curriculum was provided and the elementary work which hitherto had absorbed the time of many of the schools and made them mere elementary schools for a class was replaced by more advanced studies ; a standard of qualification for teachers was provided, a system of inspection was instituted, trustee boards of a representative character were constituted, and the grammar schools were placed in relation to the University as preparing for entrance thereto as well as to the learned professions. In the present volume the effect of these important provisions is already evident in a new interest in the efficiency of these schools demanding legislative provision for their more perfect equipment with maps and scientific apparatus. We are also furnished with the approved regulations and programmes of studies prepared for the grammar schools by the Council of Public Instruction.

There are many other topics of interest in this volume which space will not permit as to enumerate. All interested in education will heartily wish for Dr. Hodgins added years in which to prosecute his work.

N. BURWASH.

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*Principal Grant.* By William Lawson Grant and Frederick Hamilton. Toronto : Morang & Co., 1894. Pp. 531.

Principal Grant was so recently one of us that this handsome volume will be very welcome to his many friends and admirers throughout the Dominion. This fact while facilitating the enthusiastic reception of the book adds not a little to the difficulties of the writers. The work of Principal Grant is still too recent to have stood the testing of time ; and the heat of the conflicts in which he was engaged is still too sensible to permit even his biographers to write with perfect freedom from bias. The biography therefore becomes rather a contemporary document than a historic record written when the sequen-

ces of events and actions have clearly unfolded themselves. In such a situation the safest course would have been to make a large use of documentary material, but of this the writers have not availed themselves as fully as could be desired ; they have rather ventured extensively on commentary which anticipates the judgments of time.

In Principal Grant's strong personality and in the great variety of important matters with which he was occupied in the course of a very active and fairly long career, the writers have rich material for their story, and of this they have availed themselves with great skill and literary ability ; and the result is a book with a dramatic interest which leaves a most vivid impression of the man. The life of Principal Grant touched Canadian history at many points. His boyhood calls up the story of the Highland settlement at Pictou in Nova Scotia as told by Dr. Patterson a quarter of a century since. Grant's school days bring back the varied changes and struggles of the Presbyterian Churches in the eastern provinces and particularly in Nova Scotia. In his student days at Glasgow we have a fine picture of educational work and church life and thought in Scotland in the fifties. The seventeen years of his parochial work included the progress and completion of the union of the Presbyterian Churches in Canada, consummated in 1875, in which he bore a worthy part. His residence in Halifax and his intimacy with Joseph Howe brought him into close touch with the strife which accompanied the birth of the Dominion, and during the struggle in Nova Scotia his fine instincts kept him true to the larger faith, even when his friend Howe for the moment gave way. The journey "From Ocean to Ocean" filled his imagination with the conception of what Canada was destined to be, and henceforth he was the enthusiastic citizen of the Greater Canada. His faith in broad as well as high ideals was also manifest in his relations to the educational struggles of his native province. In these he turned his back on all narrow sectarianism and sectionalism and followed the ideal of a united people seeking together the boon of the high-

est intelligence, by combined effort, from the public school to the university. Thus at forty-two years of age Grant stands before us a man in the very prime of strength with rare gifts as a speaker and writer, with broad sympathies and plans, with all those attractive qualities which make a man a leader, and especially with that fine fervour of spirit which appeals to the Celtic heart and begets a deathless loyalty.

It was in the fulness of his power that at the close of 1877 he was called to the principalship of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, and was thus brought into close relations with the educational, ecclesiastical and political life of the chief Canadian province. Here the distinctive work of Principal Grant begins. In all previous effort he was one of many, showing magnificent capacity, but not yet advanced to the position of leader. Henceforth he takes up the responsibility of shaping his own policy, and the final results of his life-work in the history of his country will be largely estimated by the success or failure of the educational movements which he set on foot and carried forward to the very close of his life. The man himself however must not be judged by these. The splendour of his gifts and the nobility of his character were as manifest in the earlier years as at any subsequent period ; and should the current of events in after days lead to results very different from those for which he sacrificed the remainder of his life, we must judge of the man by what he was in himself rather than by what force of circumstances compelled him to do. In any case his work at Queen's University is so important in the educational history of Canada that it deserves review at greater length.

The foundations of the university problem of Ontario were laid in the terms of the original grant of land for education in 1798. Gradually the system took shape as a single Church secured control in the next twenty-five years of the State's provision for higher education. The situation became acute on the publication of the university charter of King's College of 1827 making the proposed university a close copy of

Oxford and Cambridge as Anglican preserves. The conflicts which ensued delayed the carrying of the charter into effect, and in the meantime first the Methodists in 1830, and then the Presbyterians in 1839, took steps for the founding by private effort of colleges for the education of their own people. The result was the opening of Victoria as an academy in 1836 and as a college in 1841, and of Queen's as a college in 1842. King's College was finally opened in 1843, and, while it alone enjoyed the original state endowment, Queen's and Victoria Colleges were assisted by legislative grants down to 1867-8. When these were withdrawn both colleges were reduced to extremity ; Victoria College was left with forty-nine students in Arts and Queen's College with twenty-five. The voluntary principle however came to their aid and early in the seventies both enjoyed a larger income from endowments contributed by their friends than they had previously received from the grants of the Government. Students were attracted anew to their halls and their status in the work of higher education was more than regained.

At this point another difficulty arose. While the union of Methodism in 1874 strengthened the Methodist institution, the union of Presbyterianism in 1875 placed Queen's College in an anomalous position.

"The voluntary section of the Canada Presbyterian Church, which far outnumbered the Old Kirk, opposed the maintenance of arts colleges by Churches. The footing of Queen's was one of the most delicate points in the negotiations. Finally an arrangement was effected which, while leaving Queen's nominally Presbyterian, virtually transformed her into a private institution. Hitherto the governing body, the board of trustees, had been elected by the Synod from a list of persons nominated by individual congregations. After the union the board became a self-perpetuating body. Theoretically, the corporation of the university remained the communicants of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Practically the Church as a body had no control over the university. The stipulation that the trustees must be members of the Presbyterian Church remained in force for fifteen years ; in 1889 it was modified. The trustees continued to furnish the General Assembly with an annual report. The Church undertook to contribute a portion of the expenditure on the theological faculty."

Two years later Dr. Snodgrass retired and Grant became principal. Grant's first work was to increase the endowment and he bravely faced the task on the voluntary principle,



appealing to the friends and alumni of the institution. By 1882 he was able to report a university budget of \$30,000 *per annum* and to strengthen his staff on the scientific side. By that time the full force of the new ideal of university education was felt in Ontario, and the attention of the whole country was soon centred on the federation movement. Our authors are evidently of the opinion that Principal Grant never seriously entertained the federation idea for Queen's. In this we think they are mistaken. In the first place it appealed to the principles for which he had hitherto laboured and with which he was evidently in sympathy. The unity of churches and the unity of educational work on a patriotic basis had been most striking features of his work in Nova Scotia. Coming to Ontario he had recognized the position of the provincial university and taken a friendly attitude in his installation address. He had distinctly accepted the voluntary principle for Queen's. He would naturally sympathize with a broad and patriotic policy, but he was far too enlightened not to appreciate at once the need for the province of a high ideal in university matters such as would demand for its attainment the concentration of forces. Again, the present writer is personally cognizant of the fact that for the first nine months or more of 1884 he joined in the most hearty and confidential manner in the advancement of the federation scheme and that during all this time his expressed ideas seemed to be in perfect harmony with those of the representatives of Victoria College.

We have not been able to find any utterance of Grant's of that date inconsistent with this attitude of mind, and in the quotations given by his biographers we think they have not been sufficiently careful of exact chronological sequence. In September 1884 it became evident that the Government was unwilling to entertain the idea of compensation for the heavy losses involved in removal to Toronto, and with that point fixed, Grant acknowledged openly that it would be impossible for Queen's to enter, but he continued to negotiate, as he said, to make the terms as fair as possible. In all this we

have never for a moment doubted Grant's perfect sincerity as we should be obliged to do if we accepted the impression conveyed by his biographers. Of course by October 1885 Grant's position was settled, and his utterance then was in harmony with his final attitude. It is with great regret that we are obliged to note at this point the reference made by the biographers to the late Dr. Nelles, the head of Victoria College. Throughout this matter Nelles and Grant worked and conferred with the most implicit confidence, and during the whole period and down to the day of Nelles's death the present writer cannot remember a word from him but of the most kindly and appreciative feeling towards Grant and of the deepest sympathy with his difficulties. It was therefore quite gratuitous to speak in terms of condemnation of Nelles. The federation project was not Nelles's. He received it in a very critical attitude. He communicated it to Grant and others, for the express purpose of judging of its possibility from their point of view. By 1886 he was quite as ready as Grant to abandon it, and then it was, and not in 1884, that he thought of Hamilton or some other more favourable location than Cobourg for Victoria, still in his heart thinking of making common cause with Grant. The fact was that then he was already in the grasp of a fatal disease, and events had passed beyond his leadership. In 1884 he was in no greater haste than Grant for public aid nor had he any greater need. The federation scheme as proposed from Victoria contemplated no public aid to denominational institutions. Its aim was to place its students within reach of the advantages of the common University to which they had exactly the same rights as any other citizens. They received these rights, not as students of Victoria, but as regularly matriculated and registered students of the University of Toronto.

The property of Victoria in Cobourg had cost, not, as here stated, thirty thousand, but nearly seventy thousand dollars. The property of Queen's in Kingston was estimated by Grant himself at ninety thousand. The attendance at Victoria was larger than at Queen's and the staff and equipment were cer-

tainly not inferior. If Victoria's position locally was inferior to that of Queen's, she had a stronger hold upon the entire Church which she represented, and she was not contemplating making herself a local university. That was a modified form of federation suggested apparently in the interview between Grant and Nelles at Kingston in 1884, and is collateral evidence that at that time Grant entertained the idea of federation, fully appreciated the difficulty of removal from Kingston, and suggested a modified form for Queen's which would obviate that necessity. The alternative was compensation. But both implied the federation of Queen's. Dr. Nelles on his return from Kingston discussed this new form of federation with the present writer, and the objections to it were pointed out. It would double the permanent cost of university work to the country, or else leave the outlying colleges with inferior advantages ; and it was open to all the objections to institutions of the type of London University which, as Sir Lyon Playfair pointed out, were already proving a failure in both England and France. The modified federation was therefore dropped, and the original plan was urged, but the modified form then rejected reappears later in Grant's policy of a second provincial university for eastern Ontario, and in the attachment to Queen's of the government School of Mines.

It is a curious side light on events, that Grant came to the federation conference of September 1884 with a letter in his possession offering him the reversion of the presidency of University College and that a year before he had been offered the post of Minister of Education. His conduct under these circumstances is that of a man actuated by the highest motives. The temptation to enter political life was set aside because he felt that he had a duty to Queen's and because he would not sever himself from the sacred calling of the Christian ministry. The other matter never called for an answer. It might have led him to play a very different and a selfish part in the final meetings of the federation conference. We only know that he stood faithfully by his college.

These two offers however show most clearly the influence in public affairs which he had already secured. It was an influence honourably won by his talents and by the fervour with which he threw himself into all public movements. His was a strong and attractive personality and his influence was already a power in the country. The people at large felt its spell, especially his brother Scots, and the strongest of Canadian public men, Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Oliver Mowat with many others, were not insensible to its charm. It was already potent in the inner life of Queen's and all its resources were now to be taxed to carry him safely and successfully through the crisis which the rejection of federation involved. To this task of building up Queen's at Kingston the remaining years of his life were given, and the public influence which he never used for his own personal advantage he used to the full for the advantage of his university.

The policy which he now adopted may be summed up in the words "Queen's the university of eastern Ontario." To prepare the way, the constitution of Queen's was modified to admit others than Presbyterians on her board of trustees. Appeal for endowment was now made on local and denominational grounds, and also on the ground that Queen's was a public institution doing work for the whole country. But this appeal for voluntary support was no longer sufficient. A local School of Mines was projected and public aid was sought for this. The caution of Sir Oliver Mowat is well shown in the limitations with which he surrounded this project. If supported by public funds it must not be affiliated with Queen's and in name its chairs must be strictly those appropriate to a School of Mines and Agriculture. The grant itself was but a dole, five thousand dollars a year. But the personal and political influence of Grant broke through all these obstacles. Before his death the grants had in various forms reached over a quarter of a million dollars, and the School of Mines had become the Faculty of Applied Science of Queen's University. Moreover, immediately after his death his biographers do not

hesitate to claim for Queen's the place of a second provincial university.

But before the biography had issued from the press a new current had set in and once more Queen's is being claimed by the Presbyterian Church as her denominational university. Without doubt the position of efficiency and popularity to which she has been raised by the labours of Grant and his colleagues has made this last turn in affairs a possibility. It has however evolved a strangely complicated problem. The principle of separation between church and state which implies the refusal of public aid to all denominational institutions seemed to have been settled in Ontario. How can this principle be reconciled with the policy that Queen's should become a second provincial university while at the same time the university of the Presbyterian Church? The solution of this *impasse* time will certainly bring; but until we arrive at it, the success or failure of the policy which Grant chose at this critical juncture and to which he so gallantly devoted the last energies of his life must remain problematical. For ourselves we have no idea that the country will consent to the reversal of the political position adopted in 1867-8. It is not likely that the Presbyterian Church will now give up her possession of Queen's as a denominational university.

These are questions for Queen's rather than for the general public, but their interests are involved in another question. Was the policy chosen by Grant in the best interests of the higher education of the province? To this Grant was accustomed to reply by two propositions. The country needs more than a single type of university life and work, and a country with Ontario's population can afford to support two universities. The first proposition is true rather of the college than of the university. There cannot be two types of chemistry or biology or physics or even history except in so far as one or both types are faulty. The university which provides the scientific knowledge of the country should furnish only the best, and hence but one type.

It may be said that one university will excel in one field, another in another field of science. This may be true, but is in itself one of the most serious evils of division, for it means that the whole country must be treated to some inferior work, one part in one field, the rest in another. As to types of college life, federation itself will provide that. Victoria, Trinity, and University Colleges are not likely to lose their distinctive types. In support of the second proposition reference is made to the history of Scotland with four universities for a population of four millions. But even a superficial examination of the university history of that country completely destroys the force of this example. While Scotland remained as weak financially as Ontario, her universities never passed beyond the grade of colleges in their arts work, and some of them were exceedingly inferior at that. Immense increase of wealth and large subventions from the Imperial Government alone have enabled two or possibly three of them to reach respectable university status in modern times. A strong plea may be made for the support of a number of colleges. But while admitting cheerfully and candidly the fact that the Faculty in Queen's have done as well with their resources as any men could do, the expense of duplication and the limited field covered in either of the Ontario mining schools are sufficient proofs of the folly of such a policy on the part of the province. The justification of Grant's policy of maintaining the independence of Queen's must we think come from the good work which she may yet accomplish as a denominational university. That work will not be diminished in importance should she be freed from her present dependence on a school of Applied Science ; and for its future value it will always be indebted to the heroic labours of Principal Grant and his staff.

Space will not permit us to enlarge on the later political influence of Dr. Grant. The ardour of the imperialist made his last days appear like the renewal of the enthusiasm and brilliant dreams of his youth.

N. BURWASH.

*Life and work of Donald Harvey MacVicar, D.D., LL.D.*  
By John H. MacVicar. Toronto : The Westminster  
Company, 1904. Pp. 351.

Dr. MacVicar was the Principal of the Presbyterian College at Montreal, and in this attractively printed volume the story of his life and labours is told by one in whom the strong tie of kinship was united to that of sympathy in belief and aim, for the son chose the father's calling and knew him long and intimately in the things that cause him to be remembered. The story is well told. The author possesses a natural, easy and graphic style, he is familiar with the chief events of his father's career and with his private life, and the simplicity, brightness and humour which the public never surmised. Dr. MacVicar lived at a time when the country was agitated by questions of great moment, affecting church and state, and involving the political, social and religious future of the people. Montreal was of necessity a field of battle, and he was no silent spectator of the contest but an active participant in it. In respect to these issues the book is defective; one lays it down with a feeling that in some measure there has been a failure to perceive the real significance of the movements in which he had a part and to appreciate at its value the impetus he gave to them.

Donald MacVicar was born near Campbelltown, in Argyleshire, on Nov. 29, 1831, and died Dec. 15, 1902. Brought to Canada when four years of age, he passed his boyhood days amid the difficulties and hardships familiar to western Ontario pioneers as they cleared the land and eked out a scanty subsistence. From the log school-house in the woods he found his way to Toronto where he became a pupil in Mr. Gale's academy and finally a student of Knox College. Here he came under the influence of Professor George Paxton Young, who, of all men he knew, left the deepest impress on his mental life and habits. The friendship then begun between teacher and pupil was maintained throughout the lifetime of the former. Their letters to each other discussed the most difficult mathe-

mathematical and metaphysical problems, and even the days of vacation they spent together were mainly given up to these studies. But the best fruit of their intercourse was the remarkable reproduction in the pupil of so much that made Professor Young a great teacher—skill in analysis, honesty of investigation, enthusiasm, vividness of language. Even his methods of class work were followed, such as the open and free discussion of the subject in the class and the constant use of the blackboard.

After a short but successful pastorate in Guelph MacVicar was invited to take charge of one of the most important congregations of Canadian Presbyterianism, the Coté Street Free Church in Montreal. His removal to that city was coincident with the beginning of an era of prosperity which made it the commercial metropolis of the Dominion. His congregation developed rapidly, large audiences were attracted by his preaching, severely doctrinal though it was, and the liberality and activity of the people were conspicuous. It was during these eight busy years that his power as a teacher first disclosed itself. He formed and conducted a Bible class of several hundred members, many of whom were men prominent in the professional and business life of the city. Entire books of Scripture were studied in a manner thoroughly scientific, yet the interest and enthusiasm of the members did not wane. Perhaps it was his success in this that drew attention to his fitness for the work of a theological professor. At all events when he was called to leave the pulpit it was to begin what proved to be the great achievement of his life; it is as an educationist that Dr. MacVicar deserves most to be remembered.

In 1864 the proposal was made to establish in Montreal a Presbyterian Theological College. To all but a few the scheme seemed impracticable. But its advocates were men of faith, far-sighted, undaunted by financial difficulties, and they had a wise and courageous leader in Principal Dawson of McGill University. They urged the necessity of such an institution not so much for denominational purposes as to



train men to preach the gospel, especially in Lower Canada. With this aim in view appeal for support was made to the Presbyterians of Montreal and Quebec. McGill University, Protestant in character but not denominational, offered its sympathy and provided facilities for the requisite preparation in Arts. Soon a sum of money was contributed sufficient to justify the appointment of one professor. There were no buildings and no library, but the management made an earnest effort to secure a teacher who had already won distinction. Professor Young of Toronto and other eminent theologians in Great Britain and the United States were invited, but none of them was able to accept the appointment. Finally they turned to the pastor of Côté Street Church. Though it was against Mr. MacVicar's judgment that the college was established, none believed more firmly than he that its success would do much for the Province of Quebec.

In the beginning the institution had no advantages other than the qualifications of its one professor. The classes met in the half-underground basement of Erskine Church. Besides the regular subjects of a theological curriculum, usually assigned to half a dozen or more professors, Mr. MacVicar taught Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Logic and Moral Philosophy ! The College soon began to expand, the confidence of its friends increased, the "cellar" was considered inadequate and a new building was erected. As the number of students continued to grow, the staff was enlarged to be on an equality with similar institutions, other buildings were added and an adequate endowment was provided. The class-room was the throne of MacVicar's influence. His mind was not creative but rather analytic and logical; he made a free use of other men's thoughts, but with him they lived anew, for he possessed pedagogical gifts of a very high order. He spared no pains to prepare himself for his classes, to saturate himself thoroughly with the subject he was about to teach. In the class room he set no limits to freedom of discussion, a radical departure from all European methods though not unknown

in American colleges. In his turn he arrested and sustained attention by the method of question and answer, supplemented by the use of the blackboard, for it was his aim to train men to think for themselves.

Dr. MacVicar's interest in education carried him beyond his own class-room. For thirty-one years he was a member of the Protestant Board of School Commissioners and for fifteen years their chairman. When he joined this body all the educational affairs of the province were under the control of the Church of Rome. Taxes were legally collected from Protestants and applied to the support of Roman Catholic schools. An agitation arose for remedial legislation and Dr. MacVicar soon became the soul of the movement. It resulted in the passing of an equitable Act by which school taxes were divided according to the amount of property held by the adherents of each faith. This meant a large increase of revenue for the Protestant schools and a corresponding development in their efficiency. Dr. MacVicar's influence in educational matters was yet increased and his views matured by his connection with McGill University, of whose corporation he was a member.

This long and wide experience led him to hold very decided convictions on educational questions and to press, not without success, for their incorporation into the Protestant school and college system of his province. He believed, and his practice was in harmony with his belief, that the aim of education was "the full development of man's physical and spiritual nature fitting him for all the relations he sustains and all the duties he is to perform towards his race and his Creator," that the mere acquisition of knowledge must be inseparably accompanied by the right use and discipline of all the powers of the mind—the senses, the emotions, the understanding, the will, the conscience. He therefore opposed a fixed syllabus of studies for all, as he would oppose a fixed diet and mode of exercise for all who would strengthen their physical powers. He was in the habit of advising stu-

dents to be guided in their selection of a course of study by the necessities of the calling they desired to follow—by the wants of the age rather than the traditions that have come down from mediæval seats of learning.

So he insisted more than is usually done on a mastery of the elements of an ordinary education. Then he would have each additional subject studied and taught first in outline. He disapproved of text-books, such as those in history, so packed with facts that the perspective cannot be seen. In seeking to attain his ideal of education he contended that religious instruction should be given in the public schools and that this end could not be accomplished by the visits of clergymen. His views were put into practice in Montreal without incurring denominational jealousy. He would have carried such instruction through the secondary schools into the university.

Dr. MacVicar was not merely an educationist. He did many things well. He was a welcome contributor to religious and educational magazines, a powerful speaker, a leader in the courts of his Church, a capable administrator. His career was one of increasing success and his influence was never greater than when he died. This book helps us to understand the large place he filled in the history of the province of Quebec during the last half of the century.

JAMES BALLANTYNE.

To a collection of five sermons\* preached at various periods in his ministry by the late Professor Halliday Douglas is prefixed a biographical sketch which forms nearly half of the book, written by his brother, Mr. Charles Douglas, M.P. After serving in the two pastoral charges of Huntly and Cambridge, England, Mr. Douglas came to Knox College, Toronto, as Professor of Apologetics and Homiletics. Here he taught for one brief session before his death in June, 1902, at the early

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\* *Andrew Halliday Douglas : Five Sermons.* With a biographical introduction by Charles Douglas. London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1903. Pp. vi, 324.

age of 38 years. The greater part of this memoir is devoted to his intellectual and spiritual development, especially during the years in which he had the guidance of his teachers. Literature and philosophy, and afterwards theology, were the subjects to which he chiefly gave himself, and to the end speculative problems had an absorbing interest for him. Additional value is given to this sketch by its glimpse of educational methods in vogue in Edinburgh a quarter of a century ago and the problems with which students in philosophy and theology were then grappling, for even in so ancient a seat of learning the changes have been rapid. The author gives little space to the incidents that ordinarily go to make up a biography. Yet such as are mentioned show Professor Douglas to have been a man of singular personal charm, broad culture, unswerving loyalty to truth, combined with great strength of intellect and at the same time reverent tenderness of heart. His career as an educationist was too short to permit of a confident estimate of his powers, but he felt, as does his brother, that this was the work for which he was best fitted. To his duties in Canada he brought the scholarly ideals of Edinburgh and Cambridge, yet he constantly kept in view Canadian needs and sought to adapt his teaching to the practical problems of a newer country. Canada has reason to remember Professor Douglas for the high hopes he gave of distinction and for what he actually accomplished in one short year.

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We note the appearance of the Reports of the Mosely Commission.\* One of the Commissioners, Mr. H. R. Reichel, pays especial attention to Canadian universities. He was impressed with the scientific equipment of McGill University; but his warmest enthusiasm is reserved for the Agricultural College and Experimental Farm at Guelph. In the Canadian schools manual training is only beginning, but he was impressed

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\**Reports of the Mosely Educational Commission to the United States of America, October-December, 1903.* London : 1904. Pp. xxiv, 400.

with the superiority of the teaching of French. He notes the absence of any Faculty of Education in the Canadian universities.

In *Le Séminaire de Nicolet*\* the frontispiece shows the Nicolet Seminary in 1903, a very extensive, substantial and imposing building of three stories and an attic, with dormer windows, and two belfries. The fête was the result of five years of preparation, and was commemorated by the erection of a "chapel-monument," of which there is a full-page picture. The Rev. Joseph Douville, superior of the College, while burdened with the many preparations for the centennial, published a history of the college in two quarto volumes of 700 pages each. Dr. Prince characterizes it as "one of the most complete monographs of the kind ever published." There is much historical information in the present volume. One point mentioned in an article reprinted from *La Presse* is the establishment in 1800 of a free school for the children of Nicolet. "The political, civil and religious bureaucracy who reigned at the Château of Quebec, sovereign and mischievous (*méchante*)," are roughly handled by the writer in *La Presse*. These *anglifieurs* are plotting how best to ingratiate themselves with Jean Baptiste, whose educational shortcomings excite their sympathetic attention. The Royal Institution is formed in England, supposedly to aid in converting Canada to English views. As a result, in 1800 "there were already in almost every local centre free neutral schools, richly equipped and directed by Protestant (*suisses*) teachers of the purest strain of Calvinism." It was a hard struggle for the *habitant*. Free tuition was a great temptation, and he hesitated. But the *habitant's* wife did not hesitate. "What ? Trust our ten boys and eight girls to godless schools? Don't speak of it !" At last they sought the curé's advice—"and the question of free unsectarian schools was settled

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\* *Le Séminaire de Nicolet : Souvenir des Fêtes du Centenaire 1803-1903, Récit des Fêtes, Adresses, Discours, Poésies, etc.* Par J. E. Prince, Québec : Imprimerie Edouard Marcotte, 1903. Pp. 248.

forever in Quebec." The national clergy met the insidious attack by opening free schools themselves in every part of the province. Each curé was teacher in his own parish. "Such was the origin of our system of primary education." Altogether, the book is creditable to the editor and compiler, Dr. Prince. It forms a worthy souvenir of an interesting occasion, and of a college which has sent forth many alumni occupying conspicuous places not only in the clerical and other professions, but in the political world as well. It is well printed.

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Canon Sylvain's pamphlet on the Seminary or College at Rimouski\* was considered in Volume viii of this Review (page 122). He returns to the attack with new citations and arguments. While Abbé C. Tanguay originated the idea of an industrial college, it proved a failure after five years of effort, and the Rev. George Potvin established the present institution, and is entitled to be considered as its founder and father. This thesis is supported with abundance of authority. A bibliography is appended referring to printed works, ecclesiastical archives, minutes of the local Fabrique and school commissioners, and the Journal and MSS. of M. George Potvin.

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*Methodism in Canada, its Work and its Story, being the thirty-third Fernley Lecture delivered in Penzance, 31st July, 1903.* By Alexander Sutherland. London : Charles H. Kelly, 1903. Pp. 350.

The Fernley Lecture is established on an endowed foundation, and is delivered annually during the meeting of the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in England. Since a Canadian was selected as the lecturer it was quite appropriate that he should choose as his subject the story of Methodism in his native land. For the task undertaken Dr. Sutherland is well qualified both by his familiarity with the subject and by his fine sympathy and literary gifts.

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\* *Le Collège Industriel de Rimouski.* Par R.-Ph. Sylvain. Rimouski : Imprimerie-Générale, F.-X. Letourneau, 1903. Pp. 22.

The story of Methodism is easily divided into four periods. The first and longest is the age of pioneer work; the next is the period of struggle for equal rights and religious liberty; the third is the period of the separate development of the five divisions of Methodism; the fourth is the period of unification and expansion. There were other striking events which form the subject of separate chapters, and Dr. Sutherland very naturally devotes a chapter to missions, a work to which he has given thirty years of his life.

The pioneer days of Methodism carry us back to the beginnings of British rule in Canada.

"Speaking broadly, Methodism may be said to have begun in Newfoundland with the advent of Lawrence Coughlan, in 1765; in Nova Scotia with the coming of the Yorkshire emigrants in 1772; in Lower Canada with the preaching of Tuffey, a commissary of the 44th regiment, in 1780, and in Upper Canada with the coming of the Hecks and others to the banks of the St. Lawrence in 1778, some accounts say in 1774."

The story of these days reads like a romance. Toil, privation, hardship, danger and, at times, even persecution were the lot of the pioneer evangelists. Yet those were but the outer accompaniments of their work and were lightly borne by men whose motives were sincere and simple. The benefit which their labours conferred on the country in laying the foundations of moral and religious character is incalculable, and to them Methodism owes her striking position in Ontario to-day.

The period of struggle for religious liberty and equal rights may be dated from 1824. This was a time of general political awakening through the province, and as the troubles from which the country suffered were in some part ecclesiastical, it was but natural that the Churches should be drawn into the struggle. A powerful leader soon appeared in the person of Egerton Ryerson. He wisely held himself and his people well apart from the extremes of the political party, and was able to lend powerful assistance in preserving the steadiness of the country in the days of the rebellion, and was finally rewarded by witnessing the complete triumph of civil and religious liberty and equal rights.

It is sometimes said that many of the Methodists were disloyal and that the Anglican Bishop Strachan opposed them on that account. The charge of disloyalty is in the face of all the facts of history. The Methodists were largely United Empire Loyalists and their descendants. They had taken their full share in the defence of the country in the War of 1812, and one of their leaders, afterwards Bishop Richardson, had left his right arm on the battlefield at Sackett's Harbour. Their pioneer missionary Lorne was himself a Loyalist driven to Canada in 1789 on account of his loyalist sympathies. No religious body rallied to the support of the Government more generally in 1837 than did the Methodists, and Ryerson was able to say that not a single Wesleyan Methodist had been implicated in the rebellion. The cause which led to Dr. Strachan's opposition to the Methodists need not be discussed here, but that opposition was openly manifest and directly declared before there was any question of disloyalty before the country.

Two of the five branches of Canadian Methodism had been transplanted from England. The other three were the result of the division of the original body during the period of conflict. All the sections had doubtless been sincere though in some cases extreme in their views, and our author gives an impartial record of these days of trial and of the divisions and reunions which occurred. When once the crucial questions were settled, all addressed themselves to the work of evangelization, and, as the men of the old generation were gathered to their graves, and a new generation took their place, the old controversies were forgotten and the way paved for the union of Canadian Methodism. This was finally consummated in 1883; and the Church entered upon a new era in her history. The preliminary union of 1874 in which the Wesleyans and the New Connexion Methodists had taken part had been followed by great religious progress in the increase of communicants and extension of church work. The final union was still more marked in this respect. The united



Churches numbered 169,503 communicants in 1884. In 1902 they had reached 291,895. The colleges and schools of the Church had increased their capital and equipment from \$376,563 to \$2,056,000; and the missionary income had advanced from \$180,129 to \$287,621.

In the volume Dr. Sutherland has given us many fine sketches of the characteristic work of Methodism. The old-time camp-meeting is portrayed with great spirit, and the remarkable conversion of the pagan Indian tribes between 1823 and 1828 stands as one of the notable events of Canadian religious history.

N. BURWASH.

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The authoress of *Old-Time Primitive Methodism in Canada*,\* a typical Canadian countrywoman, brings to her work the gifts of nature rather than those of literary art. In her work there is a touch of Yorkshire humour and a sympathy with all things human and natural. She is evidently possessed by a deep conviction of the truth of old-time religious teaching, a conviction undisturbed by the difficulties and subtleties of the modern intellectual life, and yet she has a knowledge of present-day conditions, more extensive than appears upon the surface. Primitive Methodism came to Canada from the north and east of England. There it was not a schism from the original Methodism, but, like the Salvation Army, a collateral work of evangelization. Its mission in Canada was to follow the migration of its English members and to take what part it could in the evangelization of the country. Its field was limited. The localities in which its members were sufficiently numerous to sustain a separate church were comparatively few. During its separate history the great North-west had not yet been opened up, and Ontario was already fully occupied. But in the city of Toronto and its vicinity excellent work was done, and in every place where

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\**Old-Time Primitive Methodism in Canada*. By Mrs. R. P. Hopper. Toronto : William Briggs, 1904. Pp. 336,

the denomination was planted, a type of Methodism was maintained with strong and distinctive characteristics contributing a most valuable ingredient to the sum total of Canadian Methodism at the union of 1883. What Mrs. Hopper has here done for Primitive Methodism, Dr. Webster had previously done for the Methodist Episcopal branch, while Wesleyan Methodism had been furnished with extended historic record by such writers as Playter, Carroll, Ryerson, Withrow and Sutherland. The New Connexion body and the Bible Christians still await their record, and it is to be hoped that they will be equally fortunate in finding a competent historian.

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Dr. Rainsford's account of his work \* will have an interest for the future Church historian as describing religious conditions in Toronto about 1880. He met at first with phenomenal success, and then with a gradual decline of influence; but he declares that it was in Toronto that he thought out the plans for church work, later so successful in New York.

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*A Comparison between the Federal Constitutions of Canada and Australia.* By Richard Clive Teece. Sydney : W. E. Smith, Limited, 1902. Pp. vi, 72. (University of Sydney Beauchamp Prize Essay, 1902).

The University of Sydney is to be congratulated upon the excellence of its Beauchamp Essay, which every thoughtful student of the Canadian constitution will do well to read. The Australian Commonwealth Act and the British North America Act are so radically different as well in genesis as in principle and general design that a comparison of the Australian and Canadian constitutions will disclose but few resemblances that are not inseparable from a *Bundesstaat* of British colonies. In respect of such fundamental matters as the location of the residue of legislative power, the con-

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\* *A Preacher's Story of his Work.* By W. S. Rainsford. New York : The Outlook Company, 1904. Pp. x, 245.

stitution and functions of the federal senate, and the relations of the local and the federal authorities, in general, the two constitutions may be said to lie at the opposite poles of federalism. The formidable difficulties which the advocates of an Australian federation were compelled to overcome, in order to secure the consent of the constituent colonies to any curtailments of their autonomy, are well-known. On the other hand, in British North America, local conditions were pressing irresistibly for a readjustment of the relations of the colonies, and a strong minority of the Fathers of Confederation would have preferred a single Parliament to the federal union which was imposed upon them. As the American Civil War, which was raging when the Canadian delegates were in session at Quebec, was generally ascribed to the dangerous weakness of the federal Government of the United States, the dominant ideal of the Canadian Convention readily became a central authority of sufficient strength to control disruptive tendencies and prevent the unhappy issues of the American experiment. If an "uncompromising dualism" is the most striking principle of the Australian scheme, the preponderance of the central Government is the distinguishing feature of the Canadian. The British North America Act accordingly presents limitations of provincial power which have no place in the Australian system. A chief merit of this admirable essay is the conciseness and accuracy with which the resulting contrasts in the two constitutions are succinctly exhibited.

The essay is divided into two parts; in the first the two constitutions are compared as types of constitutions in general; the second consists of a more particular comparison with greater attention to their details. Among the several important "departures from the true federal type" which the author discovers in the Canadian union, the power of disallowing provincial legislation, the appointment of the provincial governors by the Dominion, and the peculiar "un-federal character" of our judicial system are especially re-

marked. Two pardonable misstatements may be mentioned. At page 42 the case of *Lenoir v. Ritchie*, 3 Can. S.C.R. 575, is cited as an authority for the proposition that the Governor-General, as the sole representative of the Sovereign in Canada, can alone grant the distinction of King's Counsel. This is entirely misleading. The Privy Council has decided in the *Queen's Counsel* case (98 Ap. Cas. 247) that the power resides in the provincial Executive. Another important decision of the Judicial Committee in the *Liquor Prohibition Case*, in 1895, is overlooked, and the law as to the regulation of the liquor traffic in Canada is incorrectly stated at page 57.

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*Municipal History of Manitoba* : By Alan C. Ewart; *Municipal Government in the North-West Territories* : By S. Morley Wickett; *Municipal Institutions in the Province of Quebec* : By R. Stanley Weir; *Bibliography of Canadian Municipal Government (Supplementary)* : By S. Morley Wickett. [Toronto], 1904. Pp. 64. (University of Toronto Studies : History and Economics, vol. ii, no. 3.)

This is a continuation of previous studies of Canadian Municipal Institutions. In Mr. Ewart's brief summary of the municipal history of Manitoba, we learn of the simple and direct methods of the earlier municipal administration, and of the later more ambitious efforts to imitate the institutions of Ontario. But profiting by the experience of others does not involve a blind adoption of their methods, regardless of differing conditions. By experiment the people of Manitoba discovered that what might be a very sound practice for Ontario, was a very unwieldy system for their own needs. Hence, in 1886, a simpler and more natural system was adopted capable of being adjusted to the future needs of the country. An outline of this system as it stands at present is the chief feature of the sketch.

Dr. Wickett, in his contribution on the North-west Territories, traces the beginnings of administrative and municipal government in those sparsely peopled districts, now

filling up rapidly. Outside of the towns and villages, which have lately increased in numbers and importance, interest in local affairs is not yet very fully developed. The Commissioner of Public Works and his officers are all-important factors in meeting the limited wants of the people for bridges, highways, etc. The general character of the country renders the making of roads a less important need than in the older provinces with their forests, swamps and streams. However, a very considerable machinery for local administration has been worked out, which will in time be very generally applied. Dr. Wickett has sketched the salient features of the existing ordinances relating to local administration, with the necessary definitions and limitations of the powers conferred.

Dr. Weir's contribution, on the municipal institutions of the province of Quebec, proves that before 1840 there were practically no such institutions. Much more completely than in any of the other provinces, the functions which are usually entrusted to municipal authorities were, in Lower Canada, alike under French and English rule, discharged by officials of the central Government. Yet, as the ordinances of the various French and English Governors abundantly indicate, there was no lack of minute regulations for the towns and parishes, in matters of morals, police and other restrictions; but little of a positive nature for the promotion of local improvements. From the establishment of representative government in 1791, to the introduction of responsible government in 1841, the Courts of Quarter Sessions were the local agencies of a paternal administration. In 1840, during the suspension of representative government, Lord Sydenham introduced, under an ordinance of the Special Council, a system of local municipal institutions, which was extended to Upper Canada in the following year. But the people of Lower Canada feared the Greeks bearing gifts, and completely frustrated the measure by passive resistance.

After several tentative experiments, the present county and parish or township system took shape, with special provisions for town and village municipalities. Special charters have been obtained by the cities and a number of the largest towns. These, however, have been brought under a more general law by the recent Act of 1903. The leading features of the existing system are clearly set forth by Dr. Weir.

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*Correspondence respecting the Alaska Boundary, presented to both Houses of Parliament, January, 1904.* London, n.d. Pp. iv, 88. Map.

*The Questions settled by the Award of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal.* By Robert Lansing. (Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, February, 1904, pp. 65-80.)

*The Alaskan Boundary.* By George S. Holmsted. (The Canadian Law Review, February, 1904, pp. 59-69.)

*The Alaskan Boundary.* By George Davidson. San Francisco: Alaska Packers' Association, 1903. Pp. 236. Map.

*The Alaskan Boundary—Its Practicability and Cost.* By Thomas Hodgins. (North American Review, July, 1904, pp. 65-71.)

First in the list of the year's contributions to this controversy, now happily at an end, is a collection of State papers of permanent value, containing the correspondence between the British, Canadian and American Governments from July 1, 1899, until the ratification of the Arbitration Treaty by the United States Senate on February 11, 1902, the subsequent negotiations regarding the composition of the tribunal, the award and reasoned opinions of all the arbitrators, closing with felicitations from Lord Lansdowne and the Hon. Mr. Sifton on behalf of their respective Governments regarding the valuable services rendered to the British case by the eminent counsel and other gentlemen engaged in its preparation and presentation before the tribunal. The arbitration was conducted in a manner befitting the dignity of two great

nations. Mr. Lansing speaks highly of the tact and courtesy of the President of the tribunal and he ascribes high motives to the special representatives of Canada in recording their dissent from the opinion of the majority.

It seems proper to observe that the unanimous agreement with regard to Portland Channel as the boundary, for almost its entire length, reflects credit upon the American arbitrators, whose independent judicial opinion is well worthy of study. The emergence by Tongass Passage, leaving only the two small islands (Sitklan and Kannaghunut) to the United States, militates but little against the success of the British contentions in other respects upon this branch of the case. Upon the other main branch, the award by no means accepted the American claim. Length of possession, the evidence of maps and the true intent of the Treaty of 1825 were all found to be in favour of the American contention by the majority of the Tribunal. The dissenting judgments of Mr. Aylesworth and Sir Louis Jetté contain the strongest statement of the contrary opinion.

The map accompanying the award does not seem to bear out Mr. Hodgins' objections in his article, of impracticability, on the ground of expense, in tracing the remainder of the Boundary from the "Ocean"; he repeats many of the arguments in his previous contributions referred to in Volumes vii and viii of this Review.

Mr. Holmsted supports all the findings of the tribunal. He disagrees with the adverse criticisms passed upon the finding of Lord Alverstone as to the ownership of the two small islands and justifies his award in that respect.

Professor Davidson speaks from forty-five years' knowledge of the Pacific coast and an official connection with the U. S. Coast Survey. His paper, prepared in August, 1903, was going through the press when the award was published. The unquestionable character of all the claims made by the United States is nevertheless strongly insisted upon in a manner which is already familiar to us from the writings of

Mr. Balch. The award is called a "surrender" by the United States of part of its rights. A parting shot is fired at Great Britain as reluctantly compelled by political considerations to support the claims of Canada.

ANGUS MACMURCHY.

The claim advanced by the Prime Minister of Canada, as an outcome of the Alaskan case, for enlarged treaty-making power on the part of the Canadian Government is the subject of several articles in the *Canadian Magazine*. Mr. Goldwin Smith\* regards the demand as but another manifestation of the anti-Americanism which he so much deplors. He defends, with good reason, the British Government from the charge of having neglected Canada's interests in her treaty-making with the United States. Professor De Sumichrast,† of Harvard University, takes the view that Canada should not ask for the treaty-making power unless she is prepared to assert her independence of Great Britain and bear all the burdens and responsibilities that are involved in independence. Judge Hodgins,‡ whose researches and publications have already associated his name with the earlier phases of the boundary dispute, contends that a "Colonial treaty-making power," subject, of course, to the final assent of the Imperial authorities, is by no means the constitutional novelty that the critics of the suggestion have assumed. He points out that the old East India Company had exercised an independent power of that character; that India has its Foreign Office and diplomatic agents for the purpose of diplomatic dealings in regard to the foreign and commercial interests of the Indian Empire; and that many Imperial treaties in reference to Canadian questions have contained provisions whereby the assent of the Canadian Parliament is made an express condition

\* *Can Canada make her own Treaties?* By Goldwin Smith. (The Canadian Magazine, February, 1904, pp. 331-335.)

† Canadian Magazine, vol. 23, pp. 26-31.

‡ *Canada and the Treaty-making Power.* By Thomas Hodgins. (Canadian Magazine, March, 1904, pp. 479-482.)



of their validity. Colonial action of some sort in extra-territorial affairs would appear to be clearly contemplated by the Imperial Act for the federation of the Australian colonies in the express provision for extra-territorial legislation and in the creation of a Colonial department of State without precedent—a department of External Affairs. The British Constitution is not the work of *doctrinaires* ; it has been made by the practical solution of concrete questions by practical men of affairs. It has not failed to respond to the demands of the colonies in the course of their growth from mere dependencies to great self-governing communities, and we may rest assured that, when the occasion shall arise, the wise and beneficent conventions of the Imperial Government, which have secured Canada complete autonomy in the domain of legislation upon colonial affairs, will provide for the delicate questions suggested by this article a solution which will be satisfactory to Canadians and in the best interests of the Empire.

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While the local autonomy of the self-governing colonies depends in large measure upon political understandings which are no part of the law, the study of colonial constitution law embraces many important questions of a purely legal character upon some of which the authorities are not in unison. The treatment of the subject in an article on *The Legal Tie with the Colonies*\* in the Law Magazine and Review for August is disappointing. The accepted classification of colonies into those which have, and those which have not, responsible government is brought down to date, but there is little contribution to the discussion of problems which the title would lead us to expect. It is misleading to state without additional explanation that the Supreme Court of Canada interprets the Canadian constitution. No Court in Canada can escape the duty of deciding, in a proper case, that a statute which

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\* *The Legal Tie with the Colonies*. By E. D. Parker. (Law Magazine and Review, August, 1904, pp. 423-434.)

exceeds the competence of the enacting legislature as prescribed by the British North America Act is *ultra vires* and void and of "interpreting" the constitution, in that sense.

Mr. McGrath\* in the *New England Magazine* draws attention again to the anomaly of United States whaling ships conducting their operations in the Canadian waters of Hudson Bay. In an article written for an American magazine it is perhaps intelligible that Mr. McGrath, although a British subject, should be inclined to emphasize the fact that the recent action of the Canadian Government in sending an expedition to put a stop to such poaching is dealing a blow at the New England whaling industry. But it is hardly likely that the United States Government will, as he suggests, attempt to dispute a right which would seem to have been guarded expressly by treaty. If they do, there seems no solution of the difficulty except another arbitration. It is well for Canadians to try to understand beforehand the nature of the question which an arbitration tribunal would have to determine. Canada's case would rest primarily, it may be supposed, on the existence of the Convention of 1818 under which the territorial rights of the Hudson's Bay Company were recognized, one of such rights being full jurisdiction over Hudson Bay. In the second place, Canada would maintain that Hudson Bay is territorial waters, or, in the language of international law, a *mare clausum*. The usual criterion of territorial waters is that they can be defended from the shore on either side, or at least that the entrance to them from the open sea can be so defended. Now Hudson Strait is 30 miles wide, and even modern artillery might be inadequate for the defence of so broad a channel. But Chesapeake Bay and the Bristol Channel have doubtless always been reckoned to be territorial waters, and neither of them until recent years could possibly have been defended from the adjacent shores. These are the contradictions which

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\* *Whaling in Hudson Bay*, By P. T. McGrath. (*New England Magazine*, April, 1904, pp. 188-198.)

lawyers and arbitrators would have to reconcile, if the Canadian title to Hudson Bay were ever questioned. The greater part of Mr. McGrath's article is a review of the history of whaling enterprise in Hudson Bay and Hudson Strait. With the gradual extinction of the great whales of commercial value in other parts of the Arctic seas, the comparatively inaccessible waters of the great Bay have become a valuable asset to Canada on this score alone, and some regulation of the whale-fishery (as well as protection to Canadian interests) is advisable. Mr. McGrath points out that the Eskimos who are constantly in communication with whalers and accustomed to depend upon the white man's weapons in their hunting and fishing operations are forgetting the use of their own rude implements, so that the cessation of all whaling for a few years in these waters would probably mean death by starvation to many among them.

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The interest in Mr. Hamilton's entertaining volume of reminiscences of Osgoode Hall\* will not be confined to the legal profession. In regard to the professional pleasantries and anecdotes with which the work abounds it may fairly be said that he has acquitted himself with credit in the delicate task of reducing them to the written narrative. Much useful information has been collected in the chapters on the "Law Society," "Judicial and other instances," "Osgoode in scarlet, green and khaki," and "The Law Society and the University"; other chapters in lighter vein will carry forward to succeeding generations many matters of interest beyond the reach of later historians. A carefully prepared list of the judges with the dates of their appointment, the court officials at the Hall, and the Law Society medallists appears in the appendix to the work. Mr. Hamilton has compiled a readable book and has rendered a valuable service to the writer who may some day undertake a more serious

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\* *Osgoode Hall, Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar*. By James Cleland Hamilton. Toronto : The Carswell Company, Limited, 1904. Pp. xii, 196.

history of the legal profession in Canada. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that he has not seen fit to make his treatment exhaustive.

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The discussion by Chancellor Burwash\* of the *Evolution and Degeneration of Party* is thoroughly just, but of course limited owing to the very vastness of the subject. Among Anglo-Saxon people a great issue will create two parties, one of which as a rule adopts the conservative, the other the progressive attitude. To exist, a party must submit to leadership, accept a platform and an organization. When no great principle remains for it to uphold, general apathy follows, disturbed only by the efforts of the self-seeking politician. An example of this process might be taken from the present political situation in England, where the parties recently endangered by the indifference of their members are being violently recast under the pressure of a great issue. If, as is urged in the article, "the first step in the course of political corruption is the substitution of party or personal interest for honest party or personal conviction as to principle," then the remedy suggested, "the making of all and every form of personal canvass or propagandism which goes beyond the public dissemination and discussion of opinions illegal" will only be belated and ineffectual. The unselfish devotion of the citizens to their public duty can alone prevent party degeneration. Whether such unselfishness is possible in a community where a system of protective tariffs directly unites the fortunes of individuals with the policy of parties would merit further treatment.

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*Writings on American History, 1902.* An attempt at an exhaustive bibliography of books and articles on United States History, published during the year 1902, and some memoranda on other portions of

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\* *The Evolution and Degeneration of Party : A Study in Political History.* By Reverend N. Burwash. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, vol. ix, section ii, pp. 3-13.)

America. By Ernest Cushing Richardson and Anson Ely Morse. Princeton : The Library Book Store, 1904. Pp. xxi, 294.

*A Bibliography of Canadian Fiction (English)*. By Lewis Emerson Horning and Lawrence J. Burpee. (Victoria University Library Publication, No. 2.) [Toronto:] Printed for the Library by William Briggs, 1904. Pp. 82.

The success which has attended the Annual Index to periodical literature, commenced by the late Dr. Poole and since continued by Professor Fletcher and a staff of collaborators, has prompted inquiry of the Bibliographical Committee of the American Historical Association for a similar guide to the historical literature of America. To meet this demand, Professor McLaughlin of the Carnegie Institute has undertaken to supply such an index, commencing with 1903. Mr. Morse, formerly of Princeton, now of the University of Wisconsin, had however accumulated much material for 1902, and under the editorship of Mr. Richardson, Librarian of Princeton University, it has been completed and published, making a volume of 294 pages. It anticipates the new series of the Library Index by including under one alphabet both author and subject with a classified index, and goes still further by adding all historical books published during the year. To distinguish readily the difference between books and articles from periodicals, the catchwords of the former have been printed in Clarendon and the latter in spaced letters. The page is broad, as a 29 em bar of the linotype machine has been used, so as to permit the rearrangement of the lines in a five-year cumulative volume. The result, however convenient for the printer and economical for the publisher, is not satisfactory from the standpoint of appearance. The spaced letters, in which the names of the writers of periodical articles appear, give a foreign look to the page which is not attractive to the eye and is difficult to follow for those accustomed to closer English setting, especially when we add to this the great length of the line.

The editors' statement in the introduction that the work "attempts to cover the literature of 1902 on the Americas, exhaustively as regards the United States, rather fully for British America and less fully for Latin America" has been found correct, whenever tested, and is confirmed by the list of 305 periodicals and transactions which have been indexed. The difficult problem of appreciation of the books has been solved by inserting the essential parts of reviews from three or four leading critical journals, though the necessity of cutting down the extracts to a line or two gives sometimes a result that would not be altogether satisfactory to the authors of the criticisms.

The compilers have thought it necessary to follow each subject with definitions, which in some cases are ludicrous, in others childish and almost everywhere unnecessary. It would seem self-evident that any one sufficiently advanced to require a yearly index to historical literature would be possessed of at least an elementary knowledge of men and things, so that they would not require to be told that "Genealogy" was "Family History" or that "Latin America" was "Portions of America inhabited chiefly by the Latin race," and yet these are fair specimens of the kind of information found on every page. In the case of proper names some explanation is permissible and even advisable, but it should be unimpeachably accurate. Unfortunately errors are frequent. Thus Colonel George T. Denison will be surprised to find himself described as "Lieut. Governor of Canada."

The frequent mention of this Review is gratifying, but the publications of such Societies as the "Ontario Historical Society," "Lundy's Lane Historical Society," etc., should have received equal attention.

Messrs. Horning and Burpee have issued a *Bibliography of Canadian Fiction* which will form an admirable starting-point for a complete catalogue of the subject. It is chiefly interesting to the historian as revealing how small a proportion of Canadian novels have been written with a historical basis;

apparently, too, none of these few equalled in accuracy or animation Captain Richardson's "Wacousta," published over seventy years ago.

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A paper by Mr. D. R. Jack on *Acadian Magazines*\* supplies exhaustive data as to the names, dates, editors and contributors of literary periodicals published in the Maritime provinces, from the earliest known, *The Nova Scotia Magazine* (1789-92), down to *Acadiensis*, the interesting and valuable journal edited by Mr. Jack himself, which, happily, is still current. The short lives of most of these ventures is surprising, none having lasted longer than six years, except the quasi-professional *Educational Review* and three college papers. In view of such continued evidence of lack of popular support, it is also surprising that so many literary periodicals should have been started.

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*Études de littérature canadienne française.* Par Charles ab der Halden. Précédées d'une introduction "La langue et la littérature françaises au Canada, la famille française et la nation canadienne," par Louis Herbette. Paris : F. R. de Rudeval, 1904. Pp. civ, 352.

*Études de littérature canadienne française*, an interesting and well-written work, by a Frenchman who has visited Canada, consists of an account of the beginnings of French-Canadian literature, and critical studies of four representative authors, viz. Philippe de Gaspé, Crémazie, Gérin-Lajoie, and Fréchette, to which are added less formal *Chroniques*, giving information regarding the work of some of the most recent authors : Dr. Choquette, the Abbé Bourassa, M. Beaupré, M. Edmond Paré, M. F.-G. Marchand, and M. Nérée Beauchemin. The author of these essays is eminently fair, possibly even a little indulgent, to his Canadian *confrères*, although he does not seek to shut his eyes completely to their faults. The introduction by M. Louis Herbette is not very

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\* *Acadian Magazines.* By D. R. Jack. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, vol. ix, section ii, pp. 173-203.)

satisfying. Enjoying a title all its own, and displaying an inviting arrangement in seven chapters, each of which is preceded by an elaborate analysis, it extends to more than a hundred pages; and yet it is difficult to say what purpose it serves, except that of stimulating an emotional interest in the French-Canadian and all his works. This is natural and well enough, especially in addressing the reading public of France, for whom the book is intended; and we recognize at once that it would be vain to expect anything of a critical kind in an introduction which sets out in this fashion : "Je dois vous déclarer tout net que j'ai le cœur joyeux lorsque j'entends parler des Canadiens, et que tout ce qu'ils écrivent est fort bien, puisque c'est en français." But, when we seek in his pages for plain information, or original reflection, it is impossible not to feel disappointed.

M. Herbette does, however, raise several important questions. He touches on the profound significance of the language as the heart of the nationality; and he views with great satisfaction the vigour of the French language in Canada, which he evidently does not consider to be in serious danger of deterioration from its contact with English. And it must certainly be admitted that the last twenty years have seen a remarkable improvement in the quality of French-Canadian literature. He does not seem to think that the Canadian needs to visit France for the sake of the language, but he hopes to see the establishment of a Canadian school at Paris like the French schools at Rome and Athens, for the study of art; and he feels the need of better facilities for the admission of the Canadian into the home life of the better classes of the French capital. The *Alliance Française*, of which M. Herbette is a prominent officer, could, he thinks, very well aid in this good work. It has already done something to encourage Canadian authors in Paris, and could do much more in various ways. *En revanche*, he holds that the French must not intermeddle in Canadian affairs; their rôle is of another sort. They might send fresh groups of settlers to Canada's new lands,



which are in some danger of being filled with less desirable nationalities. They ought to send their capital to Canada to develop the astonishing resources of this "country of their own race." In short, M. Herbette urges that everything be done to strengthen the mutual affection and interest of the French and Canadian peoples. The Paris Exhibition of 1900 was of great value for the purpose of this *rapprochement*, and there for the first time, we are told, Canada took her rightful place among the nations of the world. It is rather French Canada that is meant, to be sure; but that is natural, and not so far from the truth as English Canadians might think. At all events, it was by no means to our disadvantage to have been represented there not only by the surprising exhibits of Canadian products, but also by French-Canadians, who were no less an unfailing source of wonder and delight to their European cousins. In this sense too, it was the rediscovery of Canada—of the new Canada with a French Prime Minister at its head.

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The year 1904 saw a great loss to Canadian letters when on February 11th died at Quebec the Rev. Abbé H. R. Casgrain, the foremost figure of his time in the world of letters in French Canada, the friend of Parkman, the indefatigable collector and interpreter of documents. Casgrain was more than an historian. He was a poet, he was an ardent patriot. In his writings there burns a sometimes fierce flame of enthusiasm for the French-Canadian cause; yet it was not in conflict with liberalism of a very real character. Perhaps his chief friends were among those who did not share his patriotic enthusiasms but who none the less found in him one keenly alive to intellectual interests. His life and work are ably reviewed by the Abbé Roy.\* Born at Rivière-Ouelle in 1831 he was reared in the old manor of Arivault under quiet, simple, aristocratic, Christian influences and amid

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\* *L'Abbé Casgrain.* Par l'Abbé J.-Camille Roy. (La Nouvelle France, juin, septembre, novembre, 1904.)

beautiful natural surroundings. At the college of Sainte-Anne under the influence of the Abbé Bouchy he added to his absorbing love of nature a love of literature, especially of the romantic French authors, such as Chateaubriand and Lamartine. It needed only the vivid impression made by Garneau's History, by Bressani's story of the martyrs of Canada, and by Trudelle's "Bois-francs" to create in one so disposed a living Canadian patriotism. His literary and classical education fitted him eminently for the teaching of literature in the college of Sainte-Anne. He was ordained a priest on October 5th, 1856. When, after four years of teaching, his health failed, he travelled in Italy and France. Later as Vicar of Beauport he took up literary work, and he ultimately turned to the domain of Canadian legend and tradition. In 1860 he published the legends, *Le Tableau de la Rivière-Ouelle*, *Les Pionniers canadiens* and *La Jongleuse*. He was drawn later into a series of studies on French-Canadian history, *L'Histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec*, (1878), *Un Pèlerinage au pays d'Évangeline* (1888), *Montcalm et Lévis* (1891), *Une seconde Acadie* (1894), a history of *L'Asile du Bon-Pasteur de Québec* (1896), *Les Sulpiciens et les prêtres des Missions-Étrangères en Acadie* (1897), besides his *Collection des Manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis* in many volumes. The Abbé did not excel as a scientific historian, or as a writer trained in research—this his edition of manuscripts shows—but rather as the literary artist who could portray great scenes and enter fully into the life of the past. "Each of the colonies has its own force," he said of the English and French settlements, "each its own weakness. . . . The history of the first is the inventory of a rich merchant, that of the second the legend of a wounded soldier; the one possesses the real, the other the actual; the one is prose, the other poetry." It was indeed to the poetry, not the science of history that he always gave his devotion. As a literary critic he ever manifested great delicacy, sense of beauty, and impartiality. By the advice which he gave so liberally he exercised an almost incalculable

influence on the development of French-Canadian literature.

Mr. Farnham's memoir of Parkman though painstaking was not wholly successful in its portraiture, and we welcome Mr. Sedgwick's short *Life* in the series of *American Men of Letters*.\* More than half of the volume is devoted to Parkman's early life, and Mr. Sedgwick publishes for the first time copious extracts from the elaborate diaries kept while the future historian was still a youth. We are struck by the early maturity both of himself and his style; at twenty he has the insight into human nature that comes to most men only at middle age, and he writes with the picturesque lucidity that required only chastening in his later years. Mr. Sedgwick describes the trip of Parkman through the Maine forest that permanently undermined his health. To travel in wet clothes all day, and to lie in the same wet clothes all night, would strain almost any system, and it is not surprising that before his real work began Parkman's health should have broken down; that he did any work was due to the Puritan heroism which adopted as its motto, "Not happiness but achievement." Canadians will always regret that Parkman never secured in Canada the formal recognition of his labours demanded by his eminent services to the country's history. The Abbé Casgrain had almost secured for Parkman an honorary degree from Laval University when at the last moment the sectarian spirit was aroused; Parkman had shown no particular tenderness for ecclesiastical sensibilities, and the ecclesiastics blocked the project of recognition. It is strange indeed that neither the University of Toronto nor McGill University should have thought of filling the breach. Mr. Sedgwick's style has the touch of distinction which makes all the difference in literature, and he has had the courage of brevity,—not a conspicuous virtue in present-day biography.

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\* *Francis Parkman*. By Henry Dwight Sedgwick. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin, & Company, 1904. Pp. x, 345.

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